

September 10, 1990 \$1.75 U.S./\$2.25 Canada

UNZ.ORG
B. Orange, NJ 07019

SEP 6

EDITORIAL

WHERE'S THE OPPOSITION?

"The two parties, which are really one party . . ." Gore Vidal notes in the last issue of *The Nation*. Indeed, and the truth of this has never been more apparent than in the supine response in Washington to President Bush's massive, open-ended commitment of U.S. forces to the Persian Gulf.

Even the left has been oddly quiescent. It may be that progressives have been mesmerized by Saddam Hussein's aggression and overimpressed by the cloak of international support Bush has woven about his actions.

Now that the cloak is beginning to slip, revealing the naked empire underneath (see page 223), it's time to detach ourselves from the prevailing consensus and articulate alternative policies. Basic principles: diplomatic solution; avoid military action; work through the United Nations. Economic sanctions against Iraq should be enforced and sustained by multilateral forces acting under U.N. authority. An arms embargo should be placed on the entire Middle East.

Here in the United States those who oppose the prevailing bipartisanship that has endorsed Bush's blank check should pay heed to the electoral reform proposed by Micah L. Sifry in his cover article. It would attack the problems of voter apathy and lack of real choice that have contributed to the present political paralysis. Also relevant is the travesty of campaign finance reform described by David Corn on page 225. For if both parties draw their retainers from the same lobbyists, their policies are unlikely to differ. And when money drives politics, the unheeled majority is left in the dust. To fight the

power, you gotta get some. Political reform is not as heady a cause as antiwar activism, but it can help achieve the same end.

ROUGH JUSTICE
Herman
Schwartz

**PALESTINIAN
TRAITORS**
Joost R.
Hiltermann

**HANOI'S
CAUTIOUS
OPENING**
Jonathan Burton

**A VISIT TO
NIXONLAND**
Jon Wiener

HANS HOFMANN
Arthur C. Danto

PAYOLA GUYS
Gene Santoro

GIVE PEOPLE A CHOICE

LET 'EM VOTE FOR 'NONE OF THE ABOVE'

MICAH L. SIFRY

Every day evidence mounts that the public is getting sick of politics as usual. Only 50.2 percent of eligible voters cast ballots in the 1988 presidential election and only one-third of the electorate is likely to vote in Congressional and statewide races this fall. Among those who doggedly fulfill their civic duty, there is growing distaste for the two major parties and their negative campaigns, entrenched incumbents and fealty to big funders. Indeed, the voters were so disgusted by the 1988 presidential campaign that the day after the election, according to a little-noted Gallup poll, fully 30 percent said they would have been likely to vote "no confidence" in both George Bush and Michael Dukakis had there been a place on the ballot to do so.

Well, maybe institutionalizing such a choice wouldn't be a bad idea. Consider, for example, last fall's gubernatorial race in New Jersey, a nasty mud-wrestle between Jim Florio, Democrat, and Jim Courter, Republican. So disenchanted were Jerseyans with this choice that a few weeks before the election only a minority of those polled had a positive view of *either* man. Florio won the election, but in all likelihood neither candidate would have emerged victorious had voters been able to pull a lever for "none of the above" (NOTA).

A serious NOTA ballot option covering all elective offices would function as a public veto. To make it work, state election laws would have to require a

(Cont. on p. 238)

The Nation
125

EXCHANGE.

KILLING THEIR CHILDREN

Canberra, New South Wales, Australia

Robin Munro's excellent description of the Tiananmen massacre ["Who Died in Beijing, and Why," June 11] provides a carefully reasoned account of many of the events of that night. We do not question Munro's eyewitness observations, nor his analysis that the government made a sharp distinction between students and workers and singled out the working class for the terror of that night. (Members of the working class also received the brunt of the mistreatment in the months that followed, as discussed in our *Nation* article of January 22.) We are convinced, though, that Munro is in error on one essential point. Strong evidence is available that students retreating south through Tiananmen Square were set upon by troops sometime between 5 and 5:30 A.M., and that a substantial number of young people were killed or wounded.

By Munro's account, he and journalist Richard Nations had been watching the first contingents of students peacefully leaving the Monument to the People's Heroes at the center of the square at 5 A.M. when the journalists noticed that the statue of the Goddess of Democracy had disappeared from view. They walked north several hundred yards through the tent city to investigate. Munro writes that a phalanx of tanks rolled past them toward the monument, crushing everything in its way. By the time Munro and Nations had returned to the vicinity of the monument, it was aswarm with soldiers, and students no longer were in evidence. Munro apparently was on the northern side of the monument, trapped amid the milling troops and the cacophony of many dozens of tanks, entirely out of sight and sound of the students retreating hundreds of yards to the southeast.

Accounts of what Munro missed are revealed in a recording taped later that morning by an Australian student at one of Beijing's universities as his Chinese schoolmates returned to campus from the square. A dozen voices spontaneously recount to one another the horrors they have just experienced. Very similar accounts were provided in mid-June 1989 by Hong Kong university students who were among the last group of evacuees from the square.

These eyewitness accounts agree that impatient troops stormed the monument to evict the students who remained, most of whom were on the northern steps and atop the monument, either waiting their turn or determined never to leave. At first the troops climbing the monument steps shot over the students' heads at the student loudspeaker system, but some of the soldiers soon lowered their sights. One of the students from Hong Kong had seen a student

shot next to him, and as he clambered down the southern steps of the monument desperately trying to help carry the dying student, a second student fell wounded beside him.

Several of the students on the tape had already left the monument, but were near the tail end of the column. They were attacked and beaten by troops, and in the melee students fell and were trampled by those behind. As one of the student voices notes, "A lot of people were stampeded to death at the end. During the retreat from the square there was chaos." The assault by the troops soon escalated into gunfire. One of the accounts on the tape tells a harrowing story:

"At 4 A.M. the lights in the square had been turned off. Then the troops surrounded us. When the lights went on again, many of the students heaved a sigh of relief and let down their vigilance. Some even returned to their tents to catch a nap. But then tanks moved into formation in a solid row and rapidly rolled right over the tents. The students who'd gone into the tents must all have been crushed. Then soldiers picked up the poles from the collapsed tents and rushed toward us and started beating us.

"I was at the edge of the column, trailing behind. There were also a lot of female students at the back. Their heads had been beaten bloody and they were screaming and crying. When the soldiers came at us they struck at our heads with their rifle butts. . . .

"I started running, alongside a huge fellow from Beijing University. He stopped to help pull some students to their feet so they wouldn't get squashed. This was because in front of us a lot of students had already fallen to the ground and the ones at the back were stamping over them. Many were already dead. From the sides, the soldiers were shooting. A lot of students fell with the shots. Then, in order to avoid more casualties, we tried to hold back the students coming from behind. Told them not to rush forward. Then we saw the military police coming up close behind. They were slashing their way through. I was chased over to a place where there was a pile of dead bodies."

The Chinese government, confident that there were no outside witnesses to these events, has claimed repeatedly to the world that no students were killed during their withdrawal from the square. The eyewitness accounts presented here, and many others that we have in our files, give the lie to such claims. Quite terrible events, it is clear, occurred in the square that night. *Anita Chan*
Jonathan Unger

MUNRO REPLIES

Beijing

The new evidence presented by Anita Chan and Jonathan Unger of killings of students by troops during the final clearing of the

square must be carefully and seriously considered. These accounts are flatly contradicted, however, by what Richard Nations and I actually saw, and also by all the eyewitness evidence—which comes from trained observers: Chinese as well as Western journalists—that we have since been able to piece together. The student accounts cited by Chan and Unger are indeed harrowing; but for the most part they are clearly not true.

First, the notion that Nations and I "missed" the alleged atrocities is wrong. We were absent from the monument for no more than five minutes. We were not "trapped" behind troop lines, "entirely out of sight and sound of the students retreating." Nor were we cut off by tanks. We arrived back at the monument well ahead of the approaching armored line. And contrary to what Chan and Unger assume, several hundred students were still on the monument at that time; only the top level was in fact "aswarm with soldiers."

Second, journalists who witnessed, from all angles, the events on and around the monument during our five-minute absence to the north (these included Claudia Rosett of *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, Fermín Rodríguez and José Luis Márquez of *Televisión Española*, John Pomfret of the Associated Press and the Chinese writer and journalist Lao Gui) all agree that no killing, panic, "trampling-to-death stampede" or even serious injury occurred—although like ourselves it was their expectation of just such an eventuality that led them to remain on the scene in the first place. If Chan and Unger's claim of killings on the monument is correct, then they need to explain an improbable conspiracy of silence on the part not only of these journalists but also of the students themselves. Some students certainly were pushed and beaten as the troops stormed the top level. But upon our return to the monument, from where the evacuation was still slowly proceeding, Nations and I talked to numerous students, including picket marshals who were actually organizing the retreat. Not one of them reported that any students had just been killed.

Third, Nations and I retreated to the east side of the Mao Mausoleum, from where we finally lost sight of the monument, just in back of the single picket line that was protecting the last of the student evacuees. We remained there for a further half-hour, long after the departing student column had left the square entirely, by which time it was daylight and only a small crowd of some 50 to 100 people still stood around. Since the only exit from the square at this time was through the southeast corner, via the east side of the mausoleum, any student survivors of the alleged killings would necessarily have passed right by us. Chan and Unger specify

(Continued on Page 252)

CONTENTS.

Volume 251, Number 7

EXCHANGE

222 Anita Chan, Jonathan Unger, Robin Munro

EDITORIALS

221 Where's the Opposition?

223 EnGulfed

224 Rough Justice

225 Trapped Again

Herman Schwartz

David Corn

COLUMNS

225 Crisis Queue

226 Beat the Devil

228 Beltway Bandits

Calvin Trillin

Alexander Cockburn

David Corn

Illustrations by J-C Suarès

ARTICLES

221 Give People a Choice:

Let 'Em Vote for "None of the Above" Micah L. Sifry

229 Palestinian Collaborators:

The Enemy Inside the *Intifada* Joost R. Hiltermann

234 Hanoi's Cautious Opening:

Trade Yes, Democracy No

Jonathan Burton

BOOKS & THE ARTS

242 Inside the Nixon Library

Jon Wiener

246 Codrescu: The Disappearance of

The Outside

Miklós Vámos

248 Art

Arthur C. Danto

251 Book Note

Gene Santoro

Editor, Victor Navasky

Publisher, Arthur L. Carter

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors*, George Black, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor*, Micah L. Sifry; *Literary Editor*, Elsa Dixer; *Associate Literary Editor*, Art Winslow; *Poetry Editor*, Grace Schulman; *Managing Editor*, JoAnn Wypijewski; *Copy Chief*, Roane Carey; *Copy Editor*, Judith Long; *Assistant Copy Editor*, Anne-Marie Otey; *Assistant to the Editor*, Dennis Selby; *Interns*, Connie Aitcheson, Charles Forcey, Edward Harcourt, April L. James, Vanessa Knapton, Angel Mossucco, Peter Ricci, Andrew Rubin (Washington).

Departments: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance*, Mindy Aloff; *Fiction*, John Leonard; *Lingo*, Jim Quinn; *Music*, David Hamilton, Edward W. Said, Gene Santoro; *Theater*, Thomas M. Disch, Moira Hodgson; *Bureaus*: *Washington*, David Corn; *Europe*, Daniel Singer; *United Kingdom*, E.P. Thompson; *Paris*, Claude Bourdet; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors*: Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Christopher Hitchens (*Minority Report*), Stuart Klawans (*The Small Time*), Aryeh Neier (*Watching Rights*), Edward Sorel, Calvin Trillin; *Contributing Editors*: Kai Bird, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, Jefferson Morley, Katha Pollitt, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Herman Schwartz, Michael Thomas, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener; *Editorial Board*: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochocka, Neil Postman, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, David Weir, Roger Wilkins. *Editors at Large*, Richard Pollak, Katrina vanden Heuvel.

Manuscripts: The magazine cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by addressed, stamped envelopes.

President, David Parker; *Associate Publisher and General Manager*, Neil Black; *Associate Publisher and Advertising Director*, Chris Calhoun; *Advertising Sales Representative*, Caerthan Banks; *Classified Advertising Director*, Gary Pomerantz; *Business Manager*, Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeepers*, Ivor A. Richardson, Shirleathia Watson; *Art/Production Manager*, Jane Sharples; *Vice President and Circulation Director*, Margaret Pyle; *Subscription Manager*, Cooke V. Klein; *Circulation Coordinator*, Jacqueline Lucas; *Receptionists*, Greta Loell, Vivette Dhanukdhari; *Data Entry and Mail Coordinator*, John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary*, Shirley Sulat; *Production*, Terry Miller; *Typography*, Sandy McCroskey; *Vice President and Nation Associates Director*, Sandra Zickefoose, *Nation Associates Assistant Director*, Carlos Durazo; *Permissions and Back Issues*, Josh Neufeld; *Publicity and Special Projects Director*, Peter G. Meyer.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc. © 1990 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau*: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, P.O. Box 10763, Des Moines IA 50340-0763. *Subscription Price*: 1 year, \$36; 2 years, \$64. Add \$14 for surface mail postage outside U.S. Missed issues must be claimed within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues \$3 prepaid (\$4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The Nation*, P.O. Box 10763, Des Moines IA 50340-0763. This issue went to press on August 23.

EDITORIALS.

EnGulfed

War will come to the Persian Gulf—pointless, bloody, ruinous war—and the only question now is how soon it will start and how long it will last. Each day President Bush ratchets up the Rambo rhetoric and closes more alleys of diplomatic escape. Even if Saddam Hussein wanted a peaceful solution, he would be hard put to find a negotiating partner in the Administration. For the fact is that Bush has now included the demilitarization of Iraq and, probably, the liquidation of Saddam as essential elements of the American mission in the Middle East. To that end Bush is willing to send thousands of Arabs and Americans to their death, throw the

most volatile region of the world into chaos and commit his country to the occupation of Saudi Arabia, at the very least, well into the twenty-first century.

The blitzkrieg scenario advised by Israel and articulated recently by Henry Kissinger and columnist William Safire would have the United States begin bombing Iraqi military and industrial targets within a matter of days. Kissinger argues that time is on Saddam's side. Not only will the placement of hostages at the target sites strain the U.S. Air Force's surgical finesse but any delay will favor the formation of opposition within the Arab world, among the Western allies and inside America. Recent U.S. polls are ambiguous. They show overwhelming support for Bush's "handling" of the crisis but surprising resistance to long-term military operations where American lives are at risk. Bush may believe

that his Panama putsch last December finished off the post-Vietnam syndrome hobbling U.S. military/imperial policy, but it seems that the crucial element in that operation was its brevity. Like many of Hollywood's disappointing summer blockbusters that started out big but shriveled after a few weeks, Bush's new war may not have legs.

The Pentagon, which always wants to have all its ducks in a row and its war toys in abundance before an offensive is begun, is worried that it will not be able to win a land war in Kuwait and Iraq for several more months. According to its scenario it will take that much time to amass five tank groups and the attendant men, women and matériel required to invade, take and hold Saddam's territory. There's no doubt in the military's mind that once the guns and troops are in place, the United States can make short work of the war. Air- and seaborne landings, the quick destruction of Iraq's airplanes and anti-aircraft capabilities, plus carpet bombing of Arab troops with the usual complement of napalm, cluster bombs and other "antipersonnel" weapons of mass murder—all tasteful items in the civilized leader's arsenal, as opposed to the Butcher of Baghdad's poison gas—could bring the Iraqi military to its knees in a week. Saddam would have to be dispatched, but he is already so completely demonized that no one in the West, at least, will mourn his loss. Then, perhaps with the aid of the K.G.B., which has long had its hand in Iraqi military affairs, new pro-Western marionettes can be inserted into the palaces of Baghdad and the Iraqi nuclear genie can be stuffed back into its bottle, leaving the Likud government of Israel as the sole regional nuclear power. What a relief!

Either war scenario may be militarily feasible, but neither of them takes the immensely complicated contradictions and dire consequences of American aggression against the "Arab nation" into the slightest account. Bush wants to restore the "legitimate" government of Kuwait to its throne, but even many previously privileged Kuwaitis are already saying that the al-Sabah dynasty is finished, and Arabs resident in the other feudal fiefdoms of the gulf are sure that the American presence will hasten, rather than permanently postpone, the fall of the desert monarchies. Republicanism (which is not necessarily democracy) is a historically powerful force in the Middle East. From King Farouk in Egypt to the Shah of Iran, dynasts have been toppled, usually by militarist/populist *caudillos* like Gamal Abdel Nasser.

The United States and the former imperial powers of Europe hate the nationalists because they cannot be counted on to serve the West's interests. The emirates and monarchies, on the other hand, have consistently broken OPEC production limitations and, perhaps more important, put their surplus petrodollars into American and Western European banks, land and industries. Kuwait, for example, has thrown about \$100 billion into the Western economy—much to the chagrin of other Arabs, who want to keep the money in local banks, industries and infrastructure development. When President Bush says that our boys in Saudi Arabia are defending "our way of life," he's not so far off base: Cheap oil and abundant capital have contributed significantly to American prosperity in past decades. Sad-

dam needs to sell his oil, and at a reasonable price, but he is not obliged or even likely to prop up the structurally flawed U.S. economy with the proceeds.

The elimination of Saddam will not permanently change the historical and geopolitical forces aswirl in the Middle East. Naked imperial intervention, which the Americans are now in the process of undertaking (far above the multilateral sanctions approved by the U.N. Security Council), is an excuse to ignore the realities of resource distribution and North-South politics. It eliminates the need for discussion of energy politics, environmental crises (Bush is, in effect, making a war that will advance global warming), economic restructuring and democratic empowerment. All Bush is doing is asserting America's post-cold war role as the unopposable, nuclear-tipped world cop, enforcing rules of its own making for its own narrow, short-term interests.

Kissinger may worry that if the "stalemate" in the desert drags on too long a sizable opposition will develop in the United States, but the evidence of any anti-imperial leadership (as opposed to native anti-interventionist sentiment) is almost impossible to find. Some Quakers have demonstrated against the war. But even the few recognized personalities of the progressive movement, such as Jesse Jackson, have caved in when it really counted and supported U.S. military action. Congress is, it now goes without saying, hopeless (whatever happened to that deadest of letters, the vaunted War Powers Act?). Vietnam doves, such as House Armed Services Committee chair Les Aspin, are among the most unrestrained hawks. With very few exceptions, journalism has enlisted in the war and is presenting pure propaganda as news. Something truly terrible will have to happen before the war fever breaks. And it will.

Rough Justice

Sometimes juries are supposed to be scofflaws. Law and justice diverge too often for decent citizens to allow punishment just because the law demands it.

The Marion Barry verdict—guilty on one misdemeanor count of cocaine possession, acquittal on another possession charge and a hung jury on twelve other charges, including perjury—is a perfect example. No one hearing the government's evidence could doubt that Washington's Mayor was guilty of frequent drug use and of lying to the grand jury. As an alternate juror wrote in her diary, "The facts are there. . . . on a videotape deemed fair and accurate, Marion Barry smoked crack cocaine. . . . He smoked it of his own free will. . . . plain and simple." Rasheeda Moore also testified substantially without contradiction that during their four-year relationship she and Barry had used drugs more than 100 times.

But the jury refused to convict on the basis of that videotape or all the other voluminous testimony of "plain and simple" facts. Although most jurors declined to discuss their decision, those who did made it clear that the government's tactics had so enraged them that the testimony lacked "credibility." Despite clear instructions from the judge, they

considered that Barry had been entrapped.

Legally, of course, there was no entrapment. In federal court (although not in some states), no matter what the prosecution does, if the defendant is "predisposed" to commit the crime there is no entrapment. And there could be little doubt of Barry's "predisposition."

But juries don't buy that legalism. If the prosecution's tactics are truly outrageous, juries will not convict, and that's what happened at the Barry trial. The prosecution forced a woman who was down on her luck and in trouble with the law to use and betray an intimate relationship in order to induce the target to use drugs—which he initially refused to do several times. Obviously the jury thought that what the prosecution did to Barry was far worse than what Barry did.

Mayor Barry isn't the only beneficiary of what lawyers call jury nullification. John DeLorean also had no valid claim of entrapment when he was tried for drug dealing six years ago, but he too got off because of the government's dubious tactics—the deal was suggested to DeLorean, desperate to raise money for his collapsing automobile company, by an unsavory government informer.

A jury's indifference to the letter of the law of course doesn't always produce a just outcome. Oliver North obviously got away with murder when the jury ignored the judge's admonition that he could not shift the blame for his wrongdoing to higher-ups.

So in the Barry case rough justice was done: The prosecution was slapped down for its disgraceful tactics, and Barry was exposed as a hypocritical drug user. For once the legal system produced a truly just result, despite the law.

HERMAN SCHWARTZ

Trapped Again

"Trapped! Trapped!" That's what Republican members of the House shouted gleefully at their Democratic colleagues on the night of August 3. And they were right.

It was the day before the start of August recess. The chamber was crowded. The lawmakers were racing through legislation, which included a package of campaign reforms endorsed by the Democratic leadership. The measures were a far cry from true reform: spending limits of up to \$715,000 for a House race, a one-third discount in broadcasting costs and a PAC "limit" of \$275,000 per election. (The average candidate in 1988 raised \$110,000 from political action committees.) With such high ceilings and PAC gifts the bill would pose little risk to incumbents. Still the debate was acrimonious, as Republicans complained about spending limits and a provision that would allow labor PACs to continue to give candidates \$5,000 for each election but would limit some corporate PACs to just \$1,000.

At about 8 o'clock Representatives Mike Synar and David Obey, both Democrats, introduced a block of amendments. Their measures made the reform a little tougher. Under Synar-Obey a candidate could accept "only" up to \$220,000 from PACs, the ceiling for individual donors would be cut

from \$1,000 per election to \$500 and some public funding would go to candidates who agree to the spending limits.

After arguing over the Synar-Obey amendments for an hour, the House voted. Representative Steny Hoyer, who was chairing the debate at that moment, called for a voice vote, and, as is routine because it was a Democratic bill, he announced the ayes had it. Hoyer then waited for the Republicans, who had opposed Synar-Obey, to ask for a roll-call vote. The G.O.P. members kept quiet, setting off a panic on the Democratic side.

The problem was this: The Democratic leadership didn't really want Synar-Obey to pass and had expected it to be defeated by a roll-call vote, in which nonreformist Democrats would join Republicans to produce a majority. Why weren't Democratic leaders overjoyed by Synar-Obey? The charitable explanation is that they were afraid that it was a bill-killer—that is, that it went so far that it would cause a majority to vote against the entire campaign finance reform measure. The other explanation is that the top Democrats, who have done very well under the present system, do not want real change. In either event, the unanticipated approval of Synar-Obey triggered a rush of late-night maneuvers on and off the House floor, as the leadership plotted to kill the block of amendments.

An hour later the Democrats had managed to call another
(Continued on Page 241)

★ CRISIS QUEUE

*I see a long, unruly queue.
And those who wait are restless, vexed,
Uncertain what they have to do
To be the world's great crisis next.*

*There's Haiti, Cyprus (Turk and Greek
Just waiting there to spill some blood).
And Bangladesh. Their case is weak:
They don't have any war, just flood.*

*But Kampuchea's back at war,
Sri Lanka's rife with murderous bands,
South Africa, El Salvador
Have both shown up with bloody hands.*

*There's Northern Ireland, looking sad,
Liberia, knee-deep in gore.
And everybody's hopping mad:
The Arabs pushed in front once more.*

Calvin Trillin

BEAT THE DEVIL.

Eastern Europe: From Spring to Fall

Nowhere has the surge in oil prices come as a more vivid disaster (in the Third World, disaster long ago ceased to be vivid) than in Eastern Europe, an area whose inhabitants must be asking themselves why they have vanished so utterly from Western consciousness. For decades Eastern Europeans complained that the Soviet system was colonial, that it looted the resources of its satellites. Aside from the transfer of East German industrial assets after World War II, this was never true; now Eastern Europe is discovering the hard way the real terms of trade. The Soviet Union is cutting oil shipments, and from January of next year will be charging a hard currency world price rather than the soft currency/barter exchanges of the past.

In July, Czechoslovakia had its supplies cut by 35 percent, with 30 percent cuts scheduled for the three months following. Its economy is reeling, not only from this but from cancellation of major industrial orders by East Germany. Food prices are up 25 percent. Bulgaria, which was getting 93 percent of its oil from the Soviet Union, had its imports cut 16 percent.

Then came Saddam's invasion. Instead of doubling, Eastern Europe's oil bill will triple. Morgan Stanley has calculated that oil at \$30 a barrel would take 38 percent of Poland's hard currency income, 90 percent of Czechoslovakia's, 20 percent of Hungary's and over 100 percent of Bulgaria's.

To prove their new international respectability they have all supported it, but the U.N. embargo on Iraqi oil shipments is particularly devastating to the Eastern European nations. During its eight-year war with Iran an economically desperate Iraq raised large loans from Czechoslovakia (\$300 million), Bulgaria (\$1.2 billion) and Romania (more than \$1 billion). Repayment was to come in the form of oil, and in July Iraq was exporting 500,000 barrels a day to Eastern Europe. Now the debts have gone bad.

Since the Soviet Union decided to stop financing Eastern Europe's conversion to capitalism with cheap oil, these beset countries are looking to the West to bail them out. The prospects aren't good. As the East German economy falls apart, West Germany is finding the bill for unification far higher than it had anticipated. The eastward flow of capital is substantially lower than expected. The social safety nets, from workplace crèches through medical facilities, job guarantees, etc., are in tatters.

The political consequences will be unappetizing, far from last spring's rosy vision of social democracy flowering from the corpse of bureaucratic Stalinism. The pathology is nowhere more evident than in that pioneer of liberation, Poland, where more than a million people are unemployed and living standards have plummeted along with productivity. The political idiom is also degenerating, as exemplified by the performance of Lech Walesa. Western enthusiasts for Walesa and for Solidarity have largely maintained an embarrassed silence on this topic, broken recently by Abraham Brumberg in *The Washington Post*, who quoted some of Walesa's more appalling remarks in his war with Prime Minister Mazowiecki. Walesa, Brumberg writes, announced recently that he would cooperate with anyone, even "intellectuals and Jews," and that his

charge that "a gang of Jews 'had gotten hold of the trough and is bent on destroying us' is not directed 'against the Jewish people as a whole' but at only those 'who are looking out for themselves while giving not a damn about anyone else.'"

I'm Schaden, He's Freude

The blow to Eastern Europe has been greeted with much glee by Thatcherites, who crow that the threat of an all-powerful Germany is now dwindling. Peregrine Worsthorne, pundit king of *The Sunday Telegraph*, had an amazing August 5 column comparing Eastern European countries to the American South after the Civil War: "As for the [East German] work force, will it really be able to throw off the effects of 40 years of Communist indoctrination any more easily than the blacks were able to throw off the effects of 100 years of slavery?" A week later Worsthorne was at it again, praising Thatcher for her reservations about a unified Germany: "Now . . . one can see a bit more clearly what she fears—a lobotomized German economic giant, psychologically unable to spill blood even in good cause and infecting the rest of Europe with its own anti-war psychosis."

Nothing can match *The Sunday Telegraph* for tonic looniness. In the August 5 edition there was an essay by Jonathan Clark headed "Why the Irish are so violent." Clark blamed Ireland's Brehon Law, the splendid and humane body of precept governing Ireland until the seventeenth century. Clark claimed that the law never established a state monopoly of "legitimate" violence (Weber's definition of the state) and so the Micks settled their scores with fist, shillelagh and kindred personal munitions, thus developing down the centuries what Tocqueville called "no sense of public justice."

It's curious how easily people forget or ignore history when it suits them—whether it be Bush's invasion of Panama, Reagan's subsidies to Saddam, or England's violent occupation of Ireland over several centuries. In this comfortable optic the present always comes in the guise of guiltless inevitability: there could have been no other way. For Clark, lack of a "sense of public justice" and the Irish "uncertainty of property" had no connection with English theft of Irish land, flouted agreements down the years or the fact that during the famine some 300,000 Irish peasants, unable to pay rent, were evicted from their wretched cabins, which were then torn down.

I was in Ireland for the first three weeks of the Persian Gulf crisis and so was exposed mainly to the Irish and English press. Next to *The International Herald Tribune* their coverage was better, information more varied, editorial postures less homogenized and, despite the foregoing remarks, sense of history and historical responsibility less shriveled. I was astounded to find *The Financial Times*, in its lead editorial for August 13, remarking that in his first negotiating offer, linking military withdrawals throughout the region, Saddam "may well have a point." The fact that Saddam has offered the basis for a negotiated solution—an Iraqi withdrawal together with the withdrawal of Syria and Israel from their illegal occupations, with the mediation of the U.N.—has been almost entirely suppressed in the U.S. media. It clearly embarrassed the U.S. government,

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

presumably because there is international pressure on it to negotiate. By August 22, White House officials were stressing brusquely that Saddam must be allowed to get absolutely nothing.

The gossip was more interesting in Europe too, for instance an item in the London *Sunday Times* for August 19 which reported that a Saudi prince, Sheik Einani, had gambled away \$17 million at the gaming tables in Cannes over the past month, thus squandering in a few evenings the price of one of the F-16s sent to defend the Royal Saudi house. The Associated Press did put this on its wire, but aside from those at *The Washington Times* most editors seem to have reckoned it bad for public morale to show what exactly the boys and girls are fighting for.

Dropping the Big One

Highly convenient for Bush as he stoked the furnaces of national emergency were reports asserting that Iraq may be only two years away from producing nuclear weapons. The specter of Butcher with Bomb provoked A.M. Rosenthal to one of his customary outbursts in *The New York Times* for August 16, calling on the United States to force Saddam to accept an international team to supervise the destruction of his "nuclear plants, missile factories and launching pads," and "if he does not accept, the United States should do it from the air, with its allies or without."

What evidence is there that Saddam could soon have his finger on the N button? Earlier this year "nuclear triggers" were intercepted at Heathrow Airport in London. But in *The Financial Times* for August 14, Edward Mortimer pointed out that it was far from clear that those intercepted krytrons were designed to trigger a nuclear device, and that there "is as yet no evidence that Iraq possesses the fissionable material it would need for a nuclear weapon or an enrichment plant to produce it."

Iraq signed the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Treaty (N.P.T.) back in 1969 and, according to Mortimer, has "scrupulously complied" with its provisions, allowing the International Atomic Energy Agency to verify that fissionable material is not being diverted from peaceful use to military application. Such inspections by the I.A.E.A. do not provide conclusive proof that a country has not been pressing forward secretly with such a program, but Matthew Bunn of the Arms Control Association figures it will be a decade before Iraq could have nuclear weapons.

Israel has never signed the N.P.T., though it has a formidable arsenal of nuclear weapons. It is probable that the nuclear warhead for its Jericho intermediate-range missile was designed and built with the help of the United States, which may well have relayed its expertise to Israel via France, a major breach of the treaty.

These days many supporters of Israel point to Iraq's chemical arsenal and claim that this alone is justification for Israel's military nuclear program. But it's not hard to turn this on its head and, naturally enough, Arab nations have done just that. At a conference on chemical weapons held in Paris

in 1989 these Arab nations asked why they should sign a treaty banning chemical weapons so long as Israel refused to sign the N.P.T. Israel, incidentally, also has a chemical weapons stockpile, one far larger than that of Iraq, according to knowledgeable authority, as well as the potential for far more efficient means of delivery.

The U.S. press continues to ignore the detailed description of Israel's nuclear store at Dimona, provided by Mordechai Vanunu to the London *Sunday Times* in 1986, or it refers coyly to Israel's "alleged" nuclear capacity, or it takes the more brazen path of asserting that Israel is good and therefore can have nuclear weapons, while Iraq is bad and therefore cannot (just as Iraq's occupation of Kuwait is bad and Israel's occupation is good, or at least better).

No newspaper has been more tactful than *The New York Times* in discussing Israel's nuclear capabilities. In 1984 Leonard Spector of the Carnegie Endowment issued a report on nuclear proliferation saying that Israel was "by far the most advanced of eight 'emerging' nuclear powers"; in 1987 he said that it had enough nuclear weaponry "to level every urban center in the Middle East with a population of more than 100,000." Thus did *The Boston Globe* report the story. The *Times* article about Spector's report on the same day in 1987 didn't mention Israel but made anxious noises about Libya, Pakistan and Iran. This tampering with reality is unremitting when the *Times* addresses itself to the Middle East. *The Washington Post* for August 21 ran a story about the debate in Israel over whether gas masks should be issued, adding that "more extreme members of the cabinet" are "demanding that if masks are distributed, they not be given to the 1.7 million Palestinians living in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip." The *Times* omitted this detail.

The United States could use nuclear weapons against Iraq in retaliation for (or anticipation of) the use of chemical weapons. Nonnuclear nations would then argue that their long-term fears were justified. As Mortimer concluded, "It is one thing to argue that, since nuclear weapons cannot be disinventured, it is best to concentrate them in a few safe and reliable hands as an insurance against their ever being used, it is another to invoke them as a deterrent against other types of weapon, or to argue that they are an indispensable safeguard against war in general [as the NATO countries did in July], while at the same time denying the protection of this safeguard to all but a handful of the most powerful states."

To all this a Rosenthal says Fuck you, and then is outraged when a Saddam comes along and says Fuck you back. It's hard to denounce Iraq for immorality in having embarked on a chemical weapons program in 1981, following Israel's bombing of the Osirak nuclear reactor, and simultaneously connive at Israel's nuclear weapons program, begun at least as early as 1959. This difficulty is obscured by the fact that Saddam has used his chemical weapons to horrible effect, whereas Israel has used its nuclear and chemical arsenals only to the extent of letting others know that it has them.



BELTWAY BANDITS.

DAVID CORN

■ The Devil Made Him Do It

"All is not well in our land. Satan and satanic forces are everywhere, trying to destroy all that which we've built up." Thus sayeth the barely vindicated yet triumphal Mayor of Washington, Marion Barry. Consider Barry, a public official and fervent crusader against drugs who rejoices because he was convicted on only one count of cocaine possession. Forget all the hysteria about cocaine use; scoundrel Barry, who has found refuge in the politics of race, was supporting an industry that operates by putting the lives of its workers—who are mainly young men and, in this town, African-American—at risk. The feds, displaying a zeal not exhibited toward S&L crooks, entrapped a guilty hypocrite and lost the jury. A fitting sentence for both Barry and United States Attorney Jay Stephens would be one year's confinement together in the same room.

Now Barry is so busy blaming the media for his troubles and seeking to save his political career that he hasn't bothered to raise a fuss about the latest slap in the city's face. On July 26 the House of Representatives voted to slice \$11 million out of the District's budget. The action highlighted the city's precarious position as a nonautonomous federal district at the mercy of legislators who do not have to answer to local residents. That day the House debated the annual District of Columbia appropriations bill. The measure consisted of three parts: \$2.9 billion in locally raised taxes and revenues, \$353 million in borrowing authority and \$543 million in funds from the federal government, which occupies 41 percent of the District's land. The "federal payment," which is supposed to offset the extraordinary cost of the federal presence and which makes up most of this last category, is currently \$425 million—the amount it was in 1985. Yet that covers only 13 percent of the city's operating costs, compared with 20.5 percent five years ago.

Julian Dixon, chair of the District of Columbia appropriations subcommittee, proposed a modest increase of \$5.5 million in the payment. But when the appropriations bill hit the House floor, Representative Bill Frenzel, a Republican, introduced an amendment to cut the budget by 4.4 percent. Frenzel offered a similar amendment to most every appropriations bill considered this year, and as with all the others this one lost. But along came Representative Timothy Penny, a Democrat who fancies himself a "compassionate conservative," offering amendments for 2 percent across-the-board cuts. With merely a voice vote, the House approved the cut in the D.C. budget. This was the only domestic appropriations bill in which Penny's 2 percent effort passed.

The District is plagued by severe problems—crime, AIDS, poor schools and insufficient housing—but those daring budget-cutters of Congress can screw the District with no fear of political reprisal. The unrepresented residents of Washington are voiceless, and the incompetence and corruption of the Barry administration have encouraged those in Congress who find the disfranchised an easy target.

■ The Quiet Americans

The brave members of Congress are quick to take a stand for fiscal responsibility when it means cutting the budget for a community with no vote. But most are mum on the subject of how to deal with the S&L mess. In July, Representative Joseph Kennedy 2d introduced legislation to revamp the current S&L bailout plan. Endorsed by Ralph Nader, Acorn, the Financial Democracy Campaign and Citizens for Tax Justice, the plan calls for a 7.5 percent surtax on unearned income in excess of \$7,500, to be paid only by those individuals with incomes greater than \$100,000; a 5 percent surtax on corporations earning more than \$75,000 annually; and the elimination of a loophole that allows capital gains at death to go untaxed. Together these provisions would bring in \$21.2 billion annually. Kennedy's intent is to raise money to pay for some of the bailout now and avoid the astronomical costs of borrowing hundreds of billions over a thirty-year period. Under his scheme, those who are best able to pay and who, as a class, benefited the most from the high interest rates brought by the S&L frenzy of the 1980s would pick up the bulk of the tab. It's a populist measure tailored to fit the growing outrage of many Americans.

Kennedy has not received well-dones from his party. The day before he introduced his measure, the Democratic leadership tried to convince some of his co-sponsors to renounce the bill. The party's leaders are still frozen with fear at the prospect of being seen as advocates of a tax hike, even—or perhaps especially—if it's a tax on the well-off.

Kennedy's initiative has made him popular with radio and television talk shows, eager to find a mad-as-hell politician who can offer more than fluff regarding the S&L crisis. Yet if you depend on *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* or *The Wall Street Journal*, which, as far as I can tell, have spilled no ink over Kennedy's proposal, you would not know that anyone is suggesting an alternative to the costly, regressive plan now under way. In September the House Ways and Means Committee is expected to hold hearings on the S&L debacle. It would be sporting of committee chair Dan Rostenkowski to allow Kennedy to testify.

■ Ah, Those Good Ol' Days of Nuclear Attacks

I'd sworn off picking on Reed Irvine, the self-acclaimed media watchdog, ever since I did an item a year ago regarding salacious allegations about his private life. But the following comment, which Irvine made to an editor of *The Washington Times* shortly after the Iraqi invasion, is too tempting to resist:

For forty years, since the Soviets got the bomb, we have been inhibited from using it for fear of Soviet retaliation. But if there's a possibility the Soviets now might be persuaded to go along or tacitly agree to do nothing in response, then the bomb could finally be used for its intended purpose: to deter aggression.

Finally, for dear Reed, there's an upside to the changes in the East. Seems that our Mayor is right about those satanic forces.

ARTICLES.

■ PALESTINIAN COLLABORATORS

The Enemy Inside

The Intifada

JOOST R. HILTERMANN

When Samira Mahmoud was cleaning her house in the village of Ya'bad in the occupied West Bank one morning this past June, she suddenly heard salvos of gunfire in the street below. She leapt to the window in excitement, thinking, she recalls, that the strike forces (groups of local activists who implement the directives of the Palestinian national leadership) had killed her neighbor Ahmed Natour, whom she describes as a heavily armed Israeli agent. To her dismay, she discovered that Natour was alive and well; he was simply throwing a wedding party for friends, who were firing their guns in celebration.

On that day, when Sami Najjar married his cousin Ahlam Najjar at the Natour house, the Israeli Army had taken up strategic positions overlooking the quarter; one patrol came down to offer congratulations and drink tea. Soon army and collaborators, including the newlyweds, left town, and quiet returned to the neighborhood.

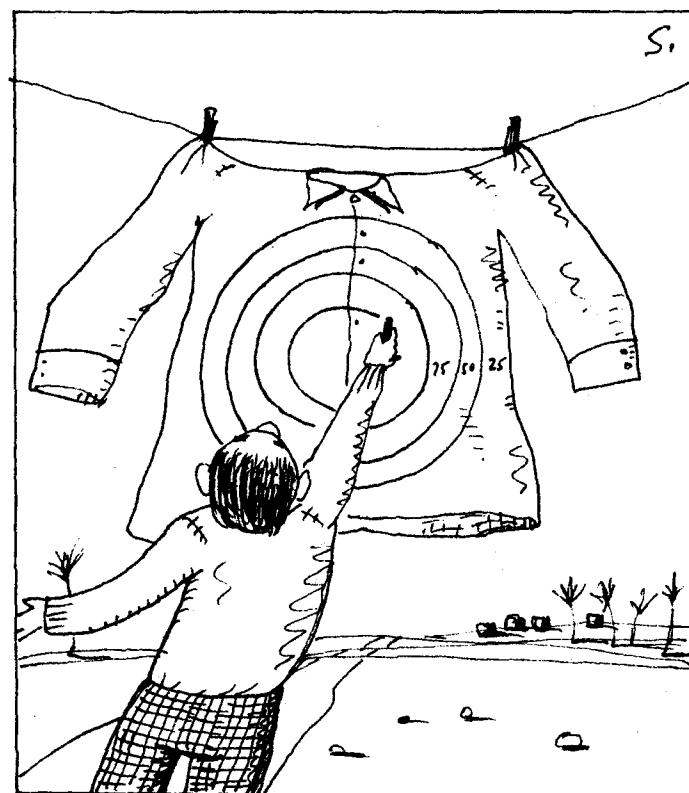
The Najjars and Ahmed Natour were driven out of Ya'bad by townspeople in 1988. They returned temporarily under army protection in 1989 but have led a roving existence this past year, dividing their time between Haifa in Israel, army camps in the West Bank and homes of relatives in the Ya'bad area. Equipped with Israeli-supplied automatic weapons, they have terrorized the local population, assisting the army in making arrests, manning impromptu roadblocks and beating and kidnapping Palestinian activists.

Omar Kilani, a 25-year-old Ya'bad resident, recalls how on July 12, 1989, he and four others were stopped at a junction near the village by the brothers Ali, Omar and Bassam Najjar and two others, all known as collaborators among the local population. The five dragged Kilani out of the car and beat him with rods on the lower legs and abdomen. He lost consciousness and, when he came to, found himself in the Najjars' white BMW, his hands tied behind his back. The men drove him to an olive orchard and began an interrogation, with an Uzi to his head, about the death a month earlier of Khaled Hirzallah, another Ya'bad resident, who had been accused of collaborating with the occupation army. Then they took him to the Fahmeh military camp, which has served for the past year as a dormitory for some twenty-five

collaborators and their families expelled from their villages during the uprising. There Kilani was beaten again. After briefly losing consciousness, he was checked by an army doctor. A jeep transferred him to military headquarters in Jenin, where he was kept for sixteen days without treatment before being placed in administrative detention, without charge or trial, for six months in the Negev desert.

Incidents such as these help explain the deep hatred Palestinians have for those who act in league with the military occupation, as well as the joy they express at the news that the resistance has killed a collaborator. But such incidents are largely absent from any discussion in the West, where a propaganda campaign launched by the Israeli government has succeeded in extracting the issue of retribution from its historical and political context and has instead characterized it in the Orientalist syntax of "intercommunal strife" among "Arabs." In a document distributed to the foreign press in December 1989, "The Intifada Against Arabs," the Israeli government claims that "most of the attacks cannot, by any dint of the imagination, be connected to charges of collaboration." The *intifada*, "besides being used as a cover for forcing the population into compliance with the P.L.O., and for 'settling scores' between rival terrorist and criminal groups," also enables "brutal gangs to terrorize the population and engage in sadism, rape, and blackmail." The pro-Israel lobby in the United States has followed suit, coining the phrase *intra-fada*.

The Israeli spin on the collaborator issue resonates throughout the Western news media. "The *intifada* turns against itself," announced *The Economist* last September. A month earlier Jackson Diehl of *The Washington Post* re-



ILLUSTRATIONS BY J-C SUARÈS

Joost R. Hiltermann, a Dutch sociologist and an editor of Middle East Report, has worked with the Palestinian human rights organization Al-Haq for five years. His book on the Palestinian labor and women's movements will be published by Princeton University Press.

ported from Ya'bad that the Najjar family had been "plunged into one of the savage episodes of inter-Arab violence that increasingly characterize the uprising," even as he conceded that the Najjars are heavily armed, enjoy military protection and are "openly allied with the Israelis." On *Nightline*, following the massacre of seven Palestinians by Ami Popper earlier this year, Ted Koppel tried to bully Palestinian activist Hannan Mikhail-Ashrawi by saying that anyone who acts independent of the P.L.O. risks execution as a collaborator: "Assuming for a moment that there are . . . men and women on the West Bank, in Gaza, who would be willing to talk with the Israelis [without P.L.O. sanction], you know as well as I do that if they did, they'd be dead the next day." In this Koppel was reinforced by his other guest that night, Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, and in fact it is the official government position, as expressed by the Israeli consulate, that "a primary motive for this violence has been to smother budding moderation which might lead to dialogue with Israel." This is a brazen claim—as Ashrawi was quick to point out—particularly considering that Israel's policy since 1987 has been to deport or incarcerate any actual or potential local leadership in the occupied territories. It is also untrue. With a few exceptions, there has been considerable tolerance for a wide range of political opinions in the Palestinian community during the *intifada*, and no one has been killed expressly for his or her beliefs. The Associated Press in Jerusalem compiled a list of 207 collaborators killed between December 1987 and May 16, 1990. Although several of those killings may be attributed to simple crime, not one of them can be ascribed to political rivalry among Palestinian factions. Nevertheless, Israeli propagandists have made their definition stick: A collaborator is any Palestinian who is in any way attacked physically or verbally by fellow Palestinians for whatever reason.

'The population's treatment of collaborators cannot be spoken of only as evidence of criminality when the criminality begins with the occupiers themselves.'

What has dropped out of the narrative is the Palestinian definition of collaborators as those who work for the enemy against their own people, and have therefore forfeited their right to membership in the Palestinian community. As Raja Shehadeh, a Palestinian attorney, explains, it is "impossible to talk about the killing of collaborators only on the level of what is right and what is wrong. There is also the level of law and order. We know that the Israelis in their administration of the occupied territories are actively encouraging criminals." These criminals, he says, are recruited to work for the occupation, and they receive army protection. "The army are accomplices to crime," Shehadeh contends. "The popu-

lation's treatment of collaborators cannot be spoken of only as evidence of criminality when the criminality begins with the occupiers themselves."

The practice of eliminating agents of a colonial or occupying power by an indigenous resistance movement has plenty of precedents. During World War II, the French *maquis*, without any form of legal process, killed many French citizens accused of spying for the Nazis, and Jewish resistance fighters in the Warsaw ghetto made no bones about killing Jewish collaborators—a necessary step, argues Holocaust survivor and human rights activist Israel Shahak, in preparing for the 1943 ghetto uprising. In colonial Africa, in those cases where nonviolent options of decolonization had been closed off, invariably the local emissaries of the colonial power were more accessible, more easily identifiable and therefore the first to be attacked. In South Africa, activists in the black townships have "necklaced" collaborators despite international condemnations.

The role of enemy agents and the threat they pose in serious confrontational situations is of course well understood by people engaged in military actions on both sides of the divide. A forthcoming book by Kathy Bergen, David Neuhaus and Ghassan Rubeiz quotes an Israeli reserve soldier who had earlier made clear that in no way had he ever identified with Palestinians and their struggle during his stint in the West Bank: "We could not understand how those people were still alive," he said of the collaborators. "As Israeli soldiers . . . we had to work alongside these collaborators, and we could not understand how the people in the village did not beat their brains out."

In the West Bank and Gaza collaboration is as old as the occupation. Israel's internal intelligence service, the Shin Bet, has recruited Palestinian agents since 1967, especially in prisons and among the criminal element, such as drug dealers and prostitutes. From the beginning their tasks included spying on neighbors, turning in those who were active in the resistance, assisting the army in making arrests and interrogating detainees. Others acted as middlemen between the military government and the population by issuing permits in exchange for bribes, while yet others sold village lands to Israelis, often forging signatures on deeds. The latter were often armed. In the revolutionary climate of the first months of the *intifada*, Palestinians flushed out great numbers of informers and pressed them to turn in their weapons and recant publicly in mosques and churches. Other collaborators fled to Israel, especially after the watershed lynching of an armed collaborator in the village of Qabatiya in February 1988.

Today entire communities in Israel serve as repositories for "burnt" agents, like Maqer near Acre, Dahaniya just outside the Gaza Strip on the Egyptian border, and Jaffa. Here collaborators pass their days like so many spent cartridges, living on a government allowance in dilapidated apartments, usually without jobs but armed and prone to crime. Last October an armed collaborator from Jabalya refugee camp in Gaza who had been relocated by the Shin Bet to Israel was arrested for the murder of seven prostitutes, drug addicts and pimps in Tel Aviv and Jaffa. After

IT LIGHTS UP IN THE DARK!

Barnes and Noble Proudly Presents MERCURY—A World Class Illuminated Globe



Turned off, the Mercury depicts land and ocean topography. Switched on, the political world, including current boundaries and international borders, is revealed in eight vivid colors.

A globe is like an encyclopedia or Bible—no educated home is complete without one. Maps are all very well and good, but only the *three-dimensionality* of a globe can accurately represent the shape and proportions of our planet—it's a 'hands-on' geographical learning aid the whole family can use.

And now your family can enjoy discovering a new world with the Mercury Illuminated Globe—an impeccably detailed, 18" tall model of our planet made in Italy by Nova Rico, the premier globe-makers of Europe.

Two Globes in One

Exquisitely designed and perfectly executed, the Mercury is actually two globes in one! Before you switch it on, it offers a comprehensive view of the earth's physical surface, including its topography, elevations, vegetation patterns, ocean currents plus latitude, longitude and international date lines as well as 3,600 place names—everything from the tallest peaks to the tiniest islands!

CREDIT CARD CUSTOMERS CALL TOLL FREE

1-800-242-6657

CALL ANYTIME, DAY OR NIGHT

—PRICE BREAKTHROUGH!—

NOW ONLY \$29.95

Suggested List \$48.95

As if all that weren't enough, switch the Mercury on, and its illuminated surface takes on an entirely new dimension. Here you will see the political world—the most current national boundaries and international borders—revealed in 8 brilliant colors! Clearly, no conventional globe can match the unique, exciting appeal of the Mercury.

An Earthshaking Bargain

Now it's easier than ever to let the Mercury light up your home. Only Barnes & Noble is able to offer this outstanding globe—normally sold for \$48.95—for the astonishingly low price of ONLY \$29.95! Never before—and probably never again—will a globe of such high quality be offered at such a low price.

Special Features of the Mercury

- Solidly constructed of durable, washable polystyrene
- Eight vibrant colors for quick identification
- Includes 25-watt bulb, 6 ft. cord. All parts UL listed.
- Reinforced welding means your globe lasts longer
- A high-quality plastic meridian and a sturdy base
- Stands an impressive 18" tall

Don't Miss Out on This Great Offer

Have you put off buying a globe for your family or yourself? Or have you noticed that the globe you have now doesn't reflect the vast changes of recent history? If so, this is your opportunity to own a globe that is not only beautiful, but completely accurate and up-to-date as well. So don't delay—order yours today!

Barnes & Noble Unconditional Guarantee

You must be completely satisfied with every item you order from Barnes & Noble by mail, or you may return it to us, for a full refund.

Barnes & Noble

DEPT. G519
126 FIFTH AVE.
NY, NY 10011

Booksellers Since 1873

1430917. Please send me _____ Mercury Illuminated Globe(s) at your special sale price of only \$29.95 (plus \$3.00 each shipping and insurance). Add sales tax for deliveries to CT, MA, MN, NJ, NY, PA, & CA(6%).

Name _____

Address _____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ Check ☐ Mastercard ☐ VISA ☐ American Express

Expiration Date _____
Month/Year _____

Credit Card Number _____

Signature _____

some of the former agents complained publicly about their predicament this past May, the Shin Bet reportedly threatened to revoke their car and business licenses and said they would be sent back to the West Bank and Gaza if they continued to talk to the press.

The collapse of the informer network early in the *intifada* dramatically weakened Shin Bet intelligence and undermined the military government's control over the population. For almost a year, the resistance was able to organize freely in towns, villages and refugee camps. To regain control, the authorities had to find new sources of information. This was accomplished through large-scale administrative detention (a measure not requiring evidence of illegal activity) and mass arrests of demonstrators and stone throwers. From among this new prison population, the Shin Bet began rebuilding its network of informers through a proven recipe of privileges, coercion and blackmail, including threats to imprison relatives or deport spouses who lacked proper residence documents. By the spring of 1989, new informers were in place, while those who had fled in 1988 were now equipped with weapons and encouraged to move back to their homes under army protection and participate in military operations against activists. In November 1989, Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin acknowledged "security personnel and collaborators" had carried out joint military operations in the occupied territories.

The return of the collaborators put the national movement on the defensive. Now the enemies in their midst were heavily armed and out for revenge. In Ya'bad the Najjars and Ahmed Natour moved back into their homes in August 1989, two weeks after the army had set up a branch of the military government in the village. During the day, they worked for the army bureaucracy, making a living charging fees from residents seeking building permits, driver's licenses and the like. Several young men were injured by the Najjars' gunfire when the population tried once again to evict them. Eventually, they moved out themselves, and have returned only sporadically to assist the army in making arrests or to terrorize residents. This past April 10, for example, Omar Najjar and his cousin Sami Najjar opened fire at a house in the hamlet of Nazleh, frightening the inhabitants before being chased off to the shelter of the adjacent Israeli settlement of Shaket.

Last year, in tandem with the Shin Bet's frenzied recruitment efforts, killings of collaborators rose sharply, reaching a peak of twenty-one deaths in September. The army responded by punishing those suspected of killing collaborators

by dynamiting their relatives' homes. International opinion, primed with Israeli propaganda, condemned what appeared to be an epidemic of killings. Inside and outside the territories the Palestinian leadership began to reassess its position. Already in August 1989 the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising, which has given direction to the *intifada*, appealed to the population "not to liquidate any agent without a central decision by the higher command. Nor should any suspected agent be executed short of a national consensus on that decision or before he is warned and given a chance to repent." In December 1989 the Nablus branch of Al Fatah, fearing it was losing control of its own strike forces, echoed in a leaflet an earlier call by Yasir Arafat to end the killing of collaborators in the city. Indeed, no collaborators have been executed in Nablus since then, as far as can be known from the A.P. list.

In general, however, local strike forces seem to be acting at their own discretion, responding, leaders I spoke with say, to local conditions and pleading self-defense. Other observers suggest that the wide-scale arrest of cadres has depleted the ranks of local activists, shifting responsibility for the defense of communities to young and relatively inexperienced militants. These are often disgruntled, even "thuggish" elements, whose hallmark has been "excessive retribution" for even minor forms of collaboration, says Palestinian sociologist Salim Tamari. They have additionally undertaken a "moral crusade," in some cases punishing drug dealers and prostitutes who were not also Israeli agents.

Faisal Hussein, a Palestinian leader who advocates a nonviolent political struggle against the military occupation, has refused to dissociate himself from the liquidation of collaborators, though he opposes the killing of "innocent people." But, Hussein says, "no one can promise there will be no mistakes."

Excesses clearly have occurred. In June 1989, Khaled Hirzallah was interrogated by a Ya'bad strike force and died shortly after being returned home. Activists in the village say that the strike force had not intended to kill him because he was only a small-time collaborator for whom a stiff warning would suffice. In Tulkarm refugee camp, nationalist leaders meted out a punishment of forty lashes to the leader of a local strike force who sexually molested a young woman accused (falsely, it turned out) of collaboration last April.

The army and Shin Bet have tried to take advantage of popular discontent with excesses committed by the strike forces by kindling suspicions and factional rivalries in villages. In Ya'bad, local activists I spoke with cite the Hirzallah case as an example in which the death of a person not publicly known as a hard-core collaborator caused frictions among families and political factions in the village, so much so that the leadership committee, which combines all factions of the P.L.O. present in the village, threatened to split. The army established its government branch in Ya'bad shortly thereafter, ostensibly to "restore order." It was then, activists say, that "people realized that [through their conflicts] they had created an opening for the military to move in." In other places, the Shin Bet has distributed leaflets, usually signed by unknown nationalist groups, listing the

THE NATION PUBLISHING INTERNSHIPS

The Nation Institute in cooperation with *The Nation* sponsors a comprehensive intern program for students and recent college graduates interested in magazine journalism. Applicants should send a cover letter and résumé, two writing samples and two recommendations to: The Nation Internship Program, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

Join Philips Classics in a once-in-a-lifetime
recording event.

Mozart

A BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

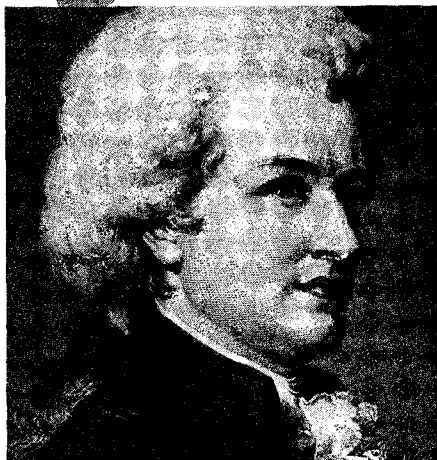
The myth, mystery and magic of Mozart are but pale shadows of the drama that was the man. When Mozart died, at 35, he left behind a monumental legacy. As the child genius of a family of geniuses he became the toast of Europe, "the little wizard" as he was dubbed in Vienna. His exploits would become the stuff of legends. But when he died, he died a pauper and was laid to rest in an unmarked grave.

A MONUMENTAL RECORDING PROJECT.

In 1991 the world commemorates the death, 200 years ago, of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. As we prepare to honor his greatness, Philips Classics will celebrate him with **THE COMPLETE MOZART EDITION**. Starting in October 1990, the **COMPLETE MOZART EDITION** will assemble all the works Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart composed, collected together for the first time in any recorded medium and issued on CD in specially designed packaging. This is a series unlike any other, monumental in scope and comprising all known authentic, original and complete works plus as many fragments or movements as could possibly be performed. **THE COMPLETE MOZART EDITION** will contain full-digital recordings, many of which will appear on CD for the first time. And many newly recorded works, varying from a complete opera to a 17 second *Andante*, including some music never heard before. This is the most monumental recording project ever attempted. **THE COMPLETE MOZART EDITION** is a connoisseur's library of the best of Symphonies, Operas and Chamber Music.

EVERY NOTE HE EVER WROTE.

In October, we will send you the 12 CD set of **The 41 Symphonies** to audition in your home Free for 15 days. Performed by



The Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields under Sir Neville Marriner, you will receive "The Jupiter", "The Haffner", in fact, all the glorious symphonic works Mozart wrote (1-41). Each month thereafter, and continuing as long as you maintain your series subscription, we will ship additional volumes, each for your Free 15 day audition. You may cancel your subscription at any time.

As your series subscription continues (monthly through December '91), future releases will include the **Serenades & Divertimenti**, including the famous "Eine kleine Nachtmusik"; the **Dances**, the **Piano Concertos**—27 glorious works, including the early Concertos after J.C. Bach; **Music for Violin & Orchestra**, including the Concerto for Piano & Violin; the **Wind Concertos**; the **Chamber Music**, including 10 unfinished fragments; the **Piano Music** plus Mozart's very first composition written when he was five; the **Masses & Sacred Works**; the **Organ Sonatas**; the **Oratorios**; **Concert Arias & Vocal Music**; **Theatre & Ballet Music**; the **Operas**; **Diversa & Rarities**.

MOZART'S LIFE'S WORK...

A Lifetime of Listening Pleasure.

THE COMPLETE MOZART EDITION comprises 180 CDs of some of the most glorious music ever written. There will be many Mozart sets issued during the Bicentennial year, but this is the *only* **COMPLETE MOZART EDITION**—and best of all, you will receive these volumes immediately upon release, culminating with the final volumes in December 1991. **THE COMPLETE MOZART EDITION** features the finest artists of our time: The Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Sir Neville Marriner, Alfred Brendel, Mitsuko Uchida, The Beaux Arts Trio, Kiri te Kanawa, Jessye Norman, Sir Colin Davis and many more. This is the Complete Mozart Edition, in 44 volumes, sent to you in 15 monthly releases from October 1990 to December 1991. Each release includes between ten and fifteen CDs at the special price of \$7.95 per disc delivered to your home.

THE MOZART GAZETTE

Your Bonus Guide to the Bicentennial.

In addition, you will also receive the quarterly **MOZART GAZETTE**, your official guide to the Mozart anniversary celebration featuring forthcoming releases in the series, news of the artists and orchestras and an international preview of events in the Mozart Bicentennial Celebration. **THE MOZART GAZETTE** is yours, Free, as long as you remain a subscriber to **THE COMPLETE MOZART EDITION**.

RSVP

Reserve your subscription to **THE COMPLETE MOZART EDITION** at the special price of \$7.95 per disc plus tax (we pay shipping).

Write to:

THE COMPLETE MOZART EDITION
c/o *The International Preview Society*
P.O. Box 91179, Dept. 65
Indianapolis, IN 46291-0179

Charge your subscription to your American Express and Optima, VISA, MasterCard, Diners Club or Discover Card. Your card will be charged monthly for each shipment.

For Fastest Service, have your credit card ready and use our toll-free number:

1-800-W-AMADEUS
(1-800-926-2338)



AN OFFER TO EDUCATORS

—BULK ORDERS FOR CLASSROOM USE—

The Nation has published three special issues in 1989-90 that have been well received by educators across the country. These issues have been used in government, sociology, media, history and other classes by thousands of high school and university students. We feel that they can play an important role in your classroom, too, and that's why we are making them available for as little as \$1.00 per copy. The issues are:

—THE AMERICAN NEO-NAZI MOVEMENT TODAY—

Elinor Langer's well-researched and chilling look at the growth of skinhead, neo-Nazi and white supremacist hate groups with direct ideological links to the original Nazi movement. Langer concludes that something deeply disturbing is indeed happening here—something every American should comprehend and confront. (July 16/23, 1990)

—SCAPEGOATING THE BLACK FAMILY—

Guest-edited and written by African-American women, this important issue debunks the myths and exposes the reality of the black family. Margaret B. Wilkerson, Jewell Handy Gresham, Faye Wattleton and others. With a final appeal/challenge to America by speaker, activist and author Ossie Davis. This issue has received widespread attention in academic circles and was nominated for a National Magazine Award. (July 24/31, 1989)

—THE LORDS OF THE GLOBAL VILLAGE—

Mergers and takeovers are transforming the information business, creating companies worth billions of dollars and concentrating power and ownership in the hands of a few. Ben H. Bagdikian, author of *The Media Monopoly*, examines the growth of these giant communications combines and profiles such media barons as Rupert Murdoch and Robert Maxwell. (June 12, 1989)

Bulk Order Price List

1 - 9 copies	\$3.00 each
10 - 49 copies	\$2.00 each
50 - 99 copies	\$1.50 each
100 - 249 copies	\$1.25 each
250 or more copies	\$1.00 each

Prepayment is required (price includes postage).

REPRINTS (each title)	Qty.	Issue	Total
1 - 9: \$3.00 ea.		The American Neo-Nazi Movement Today	
10 - 49: \$2.00 ea.		Scapegoating the Black Family	
50 - 99: \$1.50 ea.		The Lords of the Global Village	
100 - 249: \$1.25 ea.			
250 or more: \$1.00 ea.			

N.Y. residents add
appropriate sales tax

Total Enclosed

SEND TO:

Name

Address

City

State

Zip

Mail check or money order to Nation Bulk Sales, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. Prepayment is required. All reprint sales are final.

Foreign orders (including Canada): Add \$1 per issue. Payment must be made with an international money order (no service charge) or from a U.S. dollar account (add service charge: Canada, \$5; all others, \$15).

9032

names of residents who, according to the leaflet, are suspected of collaboration. One such leaflet, distributed in the village of Kufr Na'meh this past June, mixed the names of real collaborators with those of nationalist activists. The leaflet caused momentary confusion in the village until the local leadership exposed it as a Shin Bet forgery.

In the third year of the *intifada*, collaborators continue to pose a serious threat to the resistance, according to local organizers, but it is becoming increasingly difficult to get rid of them. One leader in Ya'bad said: "We must have minimal national unity. To kill 'hidden collaborators' means shaking up this unity. People ask, 'Why did you kill this guy? He is innocent.' That's why it is necessary to have clear evidence, to show that the person is 100 percent guilty. In times of popular revolution, it is easy to get rid of collaborators, but when the tide turns, like now, it isn't. So we have to be careful who we choose, and how we do it."

A friend of Ahmed Natour's, a collaborator by the name of Muhammad Hamarsheh, was killed near Ya'bad in January. And Natour himself has it coming, though it may prove difficult to pull off: "He is armed and has army protection," the activist said. "There are no weapons in this village. We keep asking the P.L.O. leadership for help, and the answer always is, 'You cannot kill the collaborators; you'll have to learn to live with it.' But we will not listen to this. As soon as the mouse is in the trap, we'll get him. Why? Because he's dangerous. He is trying to destroy our society." □

■ HANOI'S CAUTIOUS OPENING

Trade Yes, Democracy No

JONATHAN BURTON

Vietnam and the United States have come to the negotiating table once again to talk peace, and this time it could finally happen. The two adversaries have begun a concerted effort to resolve the bitter conflict in Cambodia. Chances for success on that front are slim, but concrete discussions could convince Washington to end its diplomatic isolation of Vietnam and the trade embargo it imposed fifteen years ago after the fall of Saigon, now Ho Chi Minh City.

In a startling policy reversal, the Bush Administration invited the dialogue with Vietnam and also abandoned diplomatic support for a pair of non-Communist factions allied with the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. The decision, prodded by an increasingly hostile Congress, was a long overdue admission that U.S. policy on Cambodia had become untenable. Secretary of State James Baker announced the change in Paris in mid-July, with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at his side. Baker acknowledged the

Jonathan Burton, New York correspondent for the Far Eastern Economic Review, recently returned from Vietnam.

return home last September of 140,000 Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, minus a handful of advisers. Hanoi's withdrawal, he added, had created an opportunity to talk with the Vietnamese about Cambodia. Baker speculated that Hanoi might perhaps try to convince the government in Phnom Penh to hold free elections, supervised by the United Nations. The Administration stressed that the overture does not revise its outlook toward Vietnam. Yet the unspoken message was clear: Cooperation on Cambodia is the price of admission for normalized relations.

Vietnam would do well to heed an old lesson from this latest U.S. move: Be careful what you wish for, it may come true. People on Hanoi's dusty streets speak wistfully of the day when the United States lifts economic sanctions and restores diplomatic ties. Now the door is ajar, but infighting and ideological conflict within the highest ranks of the Communist Party leadership may hamper Vietnam's ability to devote its full attention to the search for a solution in Cambodia.

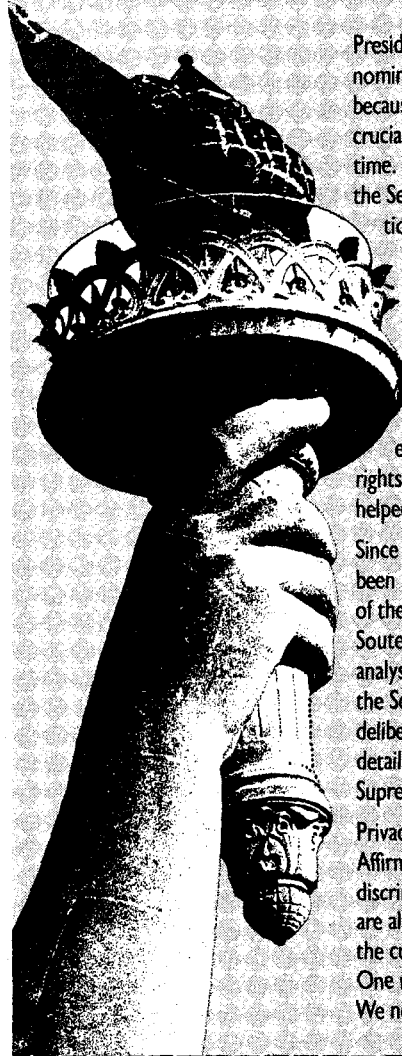
The support of pluralistic national elections in Cambodia would be an amazing acrobatic feat for Vietnam's aging rulers, given that Hanoi has bent over backward to prevent major political reform for its own people. While Communist icons have fallen ignobly across Eastern Europe over the past year, a large statue of Lenin still gazes stonily from its prominent pedestal on Hanoi's Dien Bien Phu Avenue, not far from Ho Chi Minh's mausoleum. The worldwide collapse of Communism frightens Vietnam's Politburo and has spurred a crackdown on foreigners and internal dissent that is intended to keep the Vietnamese party from the same fate as its Eastern European counterparts.

Hanoi has branded the democracy movements in Eastern Europe the evil handiwork of "imperialist and reactionary forces." The omnipresent security police, under the command of a nervous Interior Ministry, have subjected certain undesirable voices to arrest and intimidation. Two Americans suspected of subversive activities have also been arrested and expelled: In June an English teacher in Hanoi was accused of inciting student unrest through the use of foreign publications in her classes. This followed the expulsion in mid-May of a businessman who had been held for three weeks. Michael Morrow, a Hong Kong-based corporate consultant, said an Interior Ministry official told him that he believed the C.I.A. was instrumental in Eastern European reform and is ready to do the same in Vietnam.

These incidents appear designed less to thwart the C.I.A. than to embarrass the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry, which has extended a hand to the West in the hope of increased trade and investment. The Interior Ministry sees this as a sure way to Eastern Europe-style political turmoil and seems convinced that the repressive tactics of Vietnam's historic rival China are more apposite.

That is the line that Interior Minister Mai Chi Tho will advocate when the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party holds its next plenum, probably in September. This will be the last important meeting before the Seventh Party Congress, scheduled for the second quarter of 1991. The plenum could designate a successor to

PRESIDENT BUSH PULLS A FAST ONE



President Bush's Supreme Court nominee was chosen precisely because he has little record on the crucial constitutional issues of our time. The President has implied that the Senate has no business questioning Judge Souter on these issues. The American people deserve better.

Your dollars and support enabled Supreme Court Watch to issue a 180-page report on Judge Robert Bork, which exposed his views on civil rights and civil liberties and helped defeat his nomination.

Since 1981, Supreme Court Watch has been in the forefront as a watchdog of the Court. Within a week of Judge Souter's nomination, we published an analysis of his judicial record. When the Senate Judiciary Committee deliberates, it will be primed with detailed questions prepared by Supreme Court Watch.

Privacy. Reproductive choice. Affirmative action. Employment discrimination. Rights we have won are already being overturned by the current Supreme Court. One more vote will change our lives. We need your support.

SUPREME COURT



WATCH

a project of The Nation Institute

YES! I want my rights defended.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of:

☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ Other \$ _____

☐ Send me the Judge David H. Souter report.

☐ Send more information on Supreme Court Watch.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE, ZIP _____

TELEPHONE _____

Make tax-deductible checks payable to: **The Nation Institute**,
Dept. B, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011

Nguyen Van Linh, the party's 74-year-old General Secretary, who is expected to step down. Interior Minister Tho, also 74 and the younger brother of statesman and diplomat Le Duc Tho, wants the job, but he is not likely to get it. For all its stiff resistance to Western political reform, Hanoi is quite pleased to receive Western trade and investment. Rather than risk a step backward with the abrasive Tho, the Politburo is more likely to choose someone who will maintain the status quo.

If the talks with the United States on Cambodia enhance Vietnam's stature, the reputation of the well-known Foreign Minister, Nguyen Co Thach, would be improved. But some, including Interior Minister Tho, see Thach as unorthodox, and Thach may in fact aspire to become Premier, not General Secretary. The inside choice to replace Linh is the elderly current Premier, Do Muoi, who has avoided controversy during his two-year tenure. But in the interest of mitigating the rising and virulent discord within the party, Hanoi may pick a caretaker acceptable to all sides. A whimsical but not entirely illogical suggestion would be Vo Nguyen Giap, the legendary 79-year-old general whose army first defeated the French and then the Americans. Giap is a kind of Vietnamese Eisenhower, a national hero who has already seen Vietnam through rough years. He has

For all its stiff resistance to Western political reform, Hanoi is quite pleased to receive Western trade and investment.



been in the spotlight recently, touring Indonesia and Malaysia and being prominently featured in a *New York Times Magazine* cover story by Stanley Karnow.

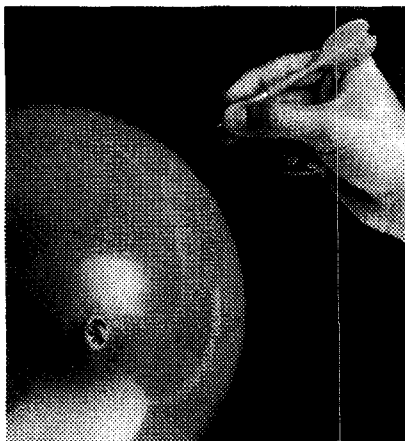
The only certainty is that the electorate will have little, if any, direct say in this political jockeying. Vietnamese politicians of all stripes insist that the population is simply not ready for a multiparty system, and many Western diplomats agree. When voting is held now, party candidates compete with nonparty candidates at the local level and sometimes lose. That's the extent of free elections. Publicly, national leaders say this is not a looming social problem. What people want most, they argue, is choice at the market stall, not at the voting booth. "They don't care whether there is only one or more than one party," explains Tran Bach Dang, a senior government adviser and a frequent critic of party policies. "They only care about the best economic life."

Whoever emerges as leader will continue to give the people what the party thinks they want and will maintain the position, however flawed, that lack of political freedom is a small price to pay for economic liberty. The party has held to this line since the most recent Party Congress, in 1986, when delegates adopted a sweeping economic revision known as *doi moi*, or economic renewal [see Eric Scigliano, "Doi Moi, Hold the Glasnost," September 25, 1989]. This Vietnamese version of *perestroika* is Hanoi's effort to paint socialism with a happy face, if not a human one. Introduced at a time when Vietnam couldn't even grow enough rice to feed its own people, *doi moi* has accomplished at least one of its goals: rescuing a party whose popularity had scraped bottom.

The government has encouraged what Vietnamese call their "silent revolution." An explosion of privately owned shops, restaurants and automobiles has transformed the country and sent it lurching toward a market economy. Western consumer goods are readily available, thanks to a brisk trade with Europe and Asia. The centerpiece of *doi moi* is a foreign investment law that is among Asia's most liberal, allowing investors repatriation of profits and tax holidays. Vietnam's role model in this uncharted course is not China, which it neither admires nor trusts, but South Korea or Singapore. "In the first stages of development, you really need some stability," explains Nguyen Xuan Oanh, an engaging Harvard-trained economist based in Ho Chi Minh City who advises the Vietnamese government on policy. "Would South Korea have been an economic miracle without Park Chung Hee or Singapore without Lee Kuan Yew?"

President Park was assassinated in 1979, and Prime Minister Lee will soon retire after ruling Singapore for three decades. Both men were feared as strong-arm despots, silencing opposition with imprisonment, exile and threats. Hardly paradigms of democracy, they maintained stability through brute force. Although human rights suffered, foreign investment capital poured in, flush with the promise of low-cost labor, minimal political risk and allegiance to free-market precepts. Living standards improved dramatically, and the two nations are now among the world's wealthiest. To some extent, Taiwan, Malaysia and Indonesia—and even Japan—have each found economic reward in following a similar one-party line.

Why the most skeptical people in America subscribe to The Nation.



Our editorial philosophy.

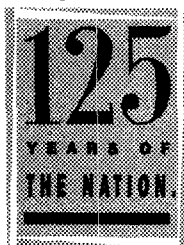
The Nation is older than General Motors and the USSR. We even predate sliced bread.

Yet, despite our advanced age, we have never settled for mere respectability.

Indeed, the longer we're around, the more we pride ourselves on disturbing the status quo.

A paradox?

Not to thousands of our readers still able to declare they are "radical," let



Our history.

alone liberal.

They prize the challenge we present forty-seven times a year.

The challenge to their assumptions. Their sense of what the news portends. And the disinformation that too

often masquerades as news.

We always do our very best to keep all our readers freshly provoked.

With regular contributions from such iconoclasts as Alexander Cockburn, Katha Pollitt, Christopher Hitchens, Molly Ivins, Gore Vidal, Calvin Trillin, and drawings from the likes of Edward Sorel (well, nobody else is like Mr. Sorel).



Our taste in art.

Why do the most skeptical people in America subscribe to The Nation?

Because they ask the toughest questions and demand the liveliest answers.

Prove it:

Subscribe for yourself.

Our offer (for new subscribers only): Save 57% off the single copy price when you subscribe to 24 issues of The Nation — one-half year — for just \$18.

☐ My payment is enclosed. ☐ Bill me later.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Please mail to: PO Box 10791, Des Moines, IA 50340-0791.

Regular rate 24 issues, \$18.38.

The Nation.

Unconventional wisdom since 1865.

Produced by Public Media Center

HQJIS

IN THE HEARTLAND OF AMERICA . . .

An evening of spicy food and politics in honor of
THE NATION's 125th year of continuous publication.

Featured guest: Victor Navasky

Special guests: Gilbert Cranberg, former editor of
THE DES MOINES REGISTER, and Louise Noun,
noted feminist and civil libertarian.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8—7 PM

A TASTE OF THAILAND RESTAURANT
215 East Walnut, Des Moines

Admission, including a sumptuous buffet of genuine
Thai cooking, \$15 (\$10 students).

For tickets call (515) 282-0044, or write Nation Anniversary
Celebration, c/o A Taste of Thailand, 215 E. Walnut, Des Moines,
IA 50309.

Hosted by Iowa Nation Associates

Smith College's Committee on Community Policy

invites you and your friends

to a Jacob Ziskind lecture in honor of

THE NATION's **125th Anniversary** in Northampton, Mass.

with: *Nation* Literary Editor, Elsa Dixler

speaking on "Feminism and the Left: The Case of *The Nation*"

Wright Hall Auditorium
Smith College

The talk will be followed by a reception/party in the Wright Hall Lounge.
Free admission. Open to the public.

POSTPONED UNTIL EARLY NEXT YEAR
MORE INFORMATION TO FOLLOW

Vietnam has a parallel goal, but all it can offer at the moment is a cheap, well-educated labor force. Fully 80 percent of Vietnam's 65 million people are literate, and many are college graduates, yet a typical Vietnamese earns the equivalent of \$20 a month. To a region beset by rising manufacturing costs, that's promise enough, and some foreign executives regard Vietnam, with the least expensive business environment in Asia, as the continent's next boom country.

But so far the foreign-investment law has had little success. What's missing is the modern infrastructure to support the increased business attention. Vietnam's factories, highways, ports and airports are crumbling. It will take great amounts of time and money to refurbish even the bare essentials, and many in the West may simply lack the patience.

Hanoi is walking a tightrope, needing to convince both foreigners and its own people that Vietnam's future is secure. Its goal is economic growth for the people and unchallenged political power for the Communist Party. Success would be easier for the party to achieve if it could unveil some dynamic political figure to rally its cause. But there is no Vietnamese Gorbachev. There are only Marx, Lenin and Ho Chi Minh. And lately, a glimmer of Adam Smith. □

None of the Above

(Continued From Front Cover)

special election (held according to the existing rules for when an office becomes vacant) any time NOTA got more votes than any of the candidates. Political parties would then nominate candidates by whatever method they desire—provided that those who had lost to NOTA could not be re-nominated for that term. NOTA would of course be on the special-election ballot as well. By threatening incumbents and contenders alike, NOTA might well introduce a real choice into elections and eventually force candidates to address the issues seriously.

The proposal is not as alien as it may seem. In its essence, it should appeal to the American belief in freedom of choice. Why should we only be able to vote "yes" for someone or abstain? Many states already require an up-down referendum on sitting judges and, interestingly, more and more of them are being defeated. A nonbinding version of NOTA has been on the ballot in Nevada since 1976. In Vermont, State Senator John McClaughry, a Republican from Caledonia County, has introduced legislation that would give voters the option of choosing "none of the above" for all elective offices, save President and Vice President. By leaving out the presidency, McClaughry is trying to avoid entanglement in the byzantine procedures of the Electoral College. My reading of the Constitution, however, suggests that each state's electors could be directed to vote for "none"; if neither of the candidates achieved a majority, the election would be thrown into Congress. In any event, the Constitution leaves to the states the power to regulate elections to Congress and to state and local offices. Under McClaughry's proposal, statewide executive offices left vacant because voters chose "none of the above" would be filled by special

vote of the legislature, though there's no reason why direct elections could not be held to fill these offices as well.

At a minimum, NOTA on the ballot for offices like mayor, governor, senator and representative might discourage a good deal of negative advertising. Contenders often promise not to "go negative," but, given the fact that smear attacks do work, that pledge is frequently abandoned as races heat up. If the people could vote their revulsion at such tactics, much gutter politics would be deterred by the prospect of mutually assured destruction.

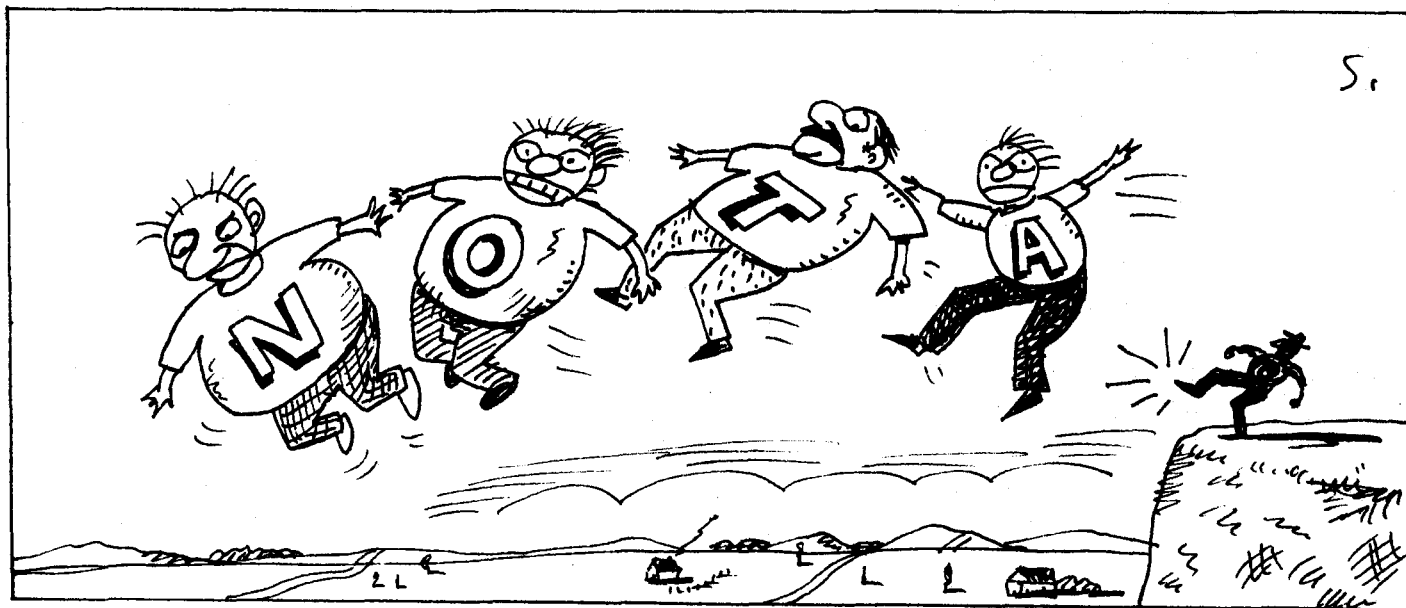
Likewise, NOTA would reduce the advantages of incumbency and the dominance of money. One out of ten House incumbents ran unopposed in 1988, and the 402 incumbents who were returned to office averaged 74 percent of the vote. Incumbents are bolstered by their relatively high name recognition, by institutional perks like franking privileges and by a whopping disparity in campaign finances. According to the Federal Election Commission, as of June 30, senators bidding for re-election this year had \$83.1 million in their campaign treasuries; challengers had \$25.9 million. The gap was even wider in the House, where incumbents had \$112.8 million and challengers only \$20.2 million. A big NOTA vote against an entrenched incumbent would at least increase the chances of recruiting serious challengers—from within the incumbent's party as well as without—the next time around. And moneyed interests might not invest so heavily in incumbents if their longevity was no longer guaranteed.

A NOTA choice might even draw some nonvoters back to the voting booth, though on this point experts like Frances Fox Piven, co-author of *Why Americans Don't Vote*, and Curtis Gans, of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, are skeptical. Piven doubts that people are sufficiently tuned in to the record of their local representatives to vote "no" in significant numbers but admits that in the intensity of a presidential election year, more might come out and upset the local status quo. Gans, who favors the NOTA idea, suggests that the purely advisory "none of these candidates" option extant in Nevada is a good test of whether NOTA would increase turnout. In

1976, when it was first tried, "none" received 47 percent of the vote in a Republican primary, topping two live contenders for the House of Representatives. (The "victorious" Republican nominee was trounced in the general election.) And in 1980, "none" narrowly lost to Jimmy Carter in the Democratic presidential primary, 34 percent to 38 percent. But overall turnout has declined in Nevada, albeit at a slightly slower rate than the national average. However, "none" in Nevada is only symbolic, and thus a true throwaway vote, which may be why it has drawn only in the single digits of late.

Recent elections in the Soviet Union show the power of being able to vote "no." Soviet voters cross off the names of candidates they reject rather than check the one they favor. They can thus reject all the contenders and even vote against an unopposed incumbent. Moreover, a winning candidate needs to receive an absolute majority of the vote, and the election is not valid if less than half the electorate votes. In the spring of 1989, when Soviet voters were given their first opportunity to nominate alternative candidates and vote in secret, an astounding number of local party and state officials were thrown out of office—even when they were the sole candidate. As a result nearly 200 out of 1,500 races for the Congress of People's Deputies had to be rerun.

How can we make NOTA a reality? Obviously, both parties are too comfortable with the current situation to enact anything so dramatic to enhance the democratic process. Letters to your representative are not in order. The best way to get things started is through the initiative and referendum process, which is available in twenty-three states. In the others, citizens will have to pressure their state legislators, perhaps by mounting widespread write-in campaigns or leaving their ballots blank. If a number of states independently enacted a NOTA provision, the others might follow or join in passing a constitutional amendment, in the same manner that direct election of senators was brought about at the turn of the century. Just possibly, NOTA may surface this fall in western Massachusetts, the birthplace of the nuclear freeze, where the Pioneer Valley Pro-Democracy



Campaign is planning a NOTA write-in effort to protest the corruption of democracy by big money.

Pollsters could go a long way toward confirming public interest in having a real choice in elections by including a NOTA option in the battery of questions they ask about political races. Several say they would seriously consider trying it. Larry Hugick of The Gallup Organization says, "There's been so much continuing speculation about alienation, voter disaffection, et cetera, that it would probably be interesting to ask [this] more than once, especially to plot the effect of negative campaigning." Mike Kagay and Kathy Frankovic, the directors of polling at, respectively, *The New York Times* and CBS News, both noted that in the past three presidential races they asked likely voters if they wished there were other choices or if they were satisfied with the existing nominees. In October 1988, 64 percent expressed dissatisfaction.

All of these proposals, despite their good intentions, fail to address the deeper problem afflicting American democracy: the emptiness of two-party politics.

In recent months there has been no shortage of proposed ideas to deal with what *The New York Times* has called "the trouble with politics." Former Democratic and Republican party chairs Charles Manatt and Frank Fahrenkopf have offered to abbreviate their parties' conventions in exchange for free television time from the networks later in the fall. Similarly, a bipartisan commission of academic experts convened by the Senate leadership has called for providing free television time to major-party candidates to "strengthen" the two-party system and cut campaign costs. To reduce the use of thirty-second "attack ads," Senator John Danforth has proposed legislation that would force candidates to appear in all their commercials. The John and Mary Markle Foundation has proposed the creation of a "voters' channel" on public television that would try to focus on issues rather than personalities or the horse race. For their part, network news executives have made their ritual promises to do a better job next time.

Liberal hopes are currently riding on voter registration and campaign finance reform. A promising voter registration bill that would enlarge the rolls by mandating automatic registration when people apply for or renew driver's licenses and by prohibiting purges of nonvoters from registration lists passed the House by a veto-proof margin [see "Voting Block," February 12] and is now awaiting consideration in the Senate. Unfortunately, the current lack of Republican sponsors for the measure may spell its doom there. And while Senate Democrats have now passed a campaign finance reform bill that goes a long way toward driving big

money out of Senate races [see David Corn, "Trapped Again," page 225], President Bush has already threatened to veto any bill limiting campaign spending.

These liberal reforms are undoubtedly needed, as are steps to allow same-day registration, to ease restrictions to getting on the ballot, to make free TV time available to candidates of all parties, to fully finance primary and general races from public funds and to limit the length of campaigns. But none of these measures stand much of a chance at present because one or both of the major parties see them as threats, and their technical nature makes it extremely difficult to build a movement that would force the system to respond.

Worse yet, all of these proposals, despite their good intentions, fail to address the deeper problem afflicting American democracy: the emptiness of two-party politics. It's no accident that Manatt and Fahrenkopf favor measures that would tighten their parties' hold on the political process, or that the Senate's academic advisers want free television time only for the two major parties. For all their partisan posturing on pseudo-issues like flag burning, nearly all members of the two parties actually share a variety of common assumptions on critical issues ranging from the S&L debacle to national health care. As Nelson Mandela joked at his meeting this summer with the members of the Congressional Black Caucus, "You would hardly know there was any difference between the Democratic and Republican parties. . . . In fact, we hope very soon to hear that they have merged."

Third-party campaigns are one way to break this logjam. But the state barriers to getting a third party on the ballot are high and the national ones are even higher. Ongoing efforts to transform the Democratic Party by electing progressive local officials may yet bear fruit, and the inside-outside strategy of Jesse Jackson is still worth watching.

But if we want to put real pressure on our white-bread politicians, NOTA seems to me the way to go. Who knows—a write-in/referendum campaign to put NOTA on the ballot could even galvanize a pro-democracy movement that would effectively push for the systemic reforms discussed above. One similar idea that has already got some attention is a proposal to limit Congressional and state terms to twelve years. Indeed, versions of this proposal will be on the ballot in California, Oklahoma and Colorado in November. Writing in *The New Republic* in support of a twelve-year limit, Hendrik Hertzberg marshals good arguments for breaking down the Congressional seniority system and shaking up the two parties' presidential-Congressional condominium. But he fails to explain how democracy is going to be enhanced if outgoing representatives can still use all the perks and powers at their disposal to anoint successors, or how the people's will is to be served if a genuinely popular and effective legislator is forced to step down. Hertzberg writes that "the term limit would mean that at least once every 12 years (and probably more frequently), every citizen would get a fighting chance to vote in a genuinely *political* congressional election."

Why not every two years? *The New York Times* has editorialized against a twelve-year term limit, arguing, "If voters think a member should be shown the gate, let them say so on Election Day." I agree. Let them vote NOTA. □

EDITORIALS.

(Continued From Page 225)

vote on Synar-Obey. In the first minutes of the fifteen-minute voting period, most of the Republicans voted present—the equivalent of abstaining. The Democrats were trapped; their votes alone would decide the matter. The choice was either to accept more thorough reform or be shown as hypocrites. The scene was wild. Democrats switched votes. Some pro-reform Democrats complained to campaign-reform lobbyists standing off the House floor that the leadership was pressing them to vote against the package. In the last moments the count showed a narrow defeat—128 to 122 votes, with 158 voting present—for Synar-Obey, and the Democrats gaveled the voting period to a quick close rather than allow the traditional extra minute or two for late-comers. Those Democrats voting against Synar-Obey or voting present included Barney Frank, Martin Sabo, Butler Derrick, Sander Levin, David Price and Edward Markey—each of whom had trumpeted his support for the measure only an hour or so earlier. The unamended campaign finance “reform” bill went on to pass.

The panic of the Democrats is emblematic. With Congress held in low repute by much of the public, and with all the recent money-and-politics scandals, politicians want to look like they’re doing something to clean up Capitol Hill. They introduce a bill that contains minimal reform. It passes, and they proclaim they have done their job.

In the Senate, some Democrats led by John Kerry did push for a true and far-reaching reform of the campaign system, with legislation that would have provided direct public funding for Senate campaigns and driven out most of the big-money contributors. But the Kerry measure attracted only thirty-eight votes. Instead, the Senate passed a reform bill that includes voluntary spending limits on Senate races, some public support for candidates who accept limits (such as vouchers for television time equal to 20 percent of the spending limit), a ban on all PAC contributions and a \$250 limit on contributions from individuals who reside outside the candidate’s state. The Senate measure is light-years beyond the House bill. But it doesn’t block all the avenues by which money can influence a candidate. Eighty percent of a campaign’s treasury would still have to be raised from private contributions.

The differences between the House and Senate bills will have to be ironed out, and the resulting legislation could well be vetoed by President Bush, who opposes spending limits. But the reforms passed by the House and Senate are pathetic, given the seriousness of the problem: money (from a very few) driving Congress. The only solution is full, or close to full, public funding of elections. It will cost the American people—but not nearly as much as some of the legislative actions fueled by campaign contributions. Imagine the money saved if Charles Keating and other S&L barons had not been able to buy access to members of Congress. Until lawmakers pass real campaign finance reform, the public interest will be hostage to those who fill the coffers.

DAVID CORN

New in Paperback!



Learning by Heart: AIDS and Schoolchildren in America's Communities

David L. Kirp

\$14.95

“With an attention to detail more characteristic of journalism than of social science, each of these descriptions could almost stand alone as a short story. As an ensemble they tell a tale of bravery and cowardice, of mean-spiritedness and compassion, of suffering and fortitude.”

—Ronald Bayer, *The Nation*

Rutgers University Press

109 Church Street • New Brunswick, NJ 08901

Available at bookstores or call TOLL FREE 1-800-446-9323 (MC/Visa only)

Dear Subscribers,

In order to serve you better, we are moving our subscription service from a company in Marion, Ohio, to one in Des Moines, Iowa. If your subscription is in good standing, your copy of *The Nation* will be delivered without interruption.

However, there will be a three-week period during which no changes can be made in your subscription.

Adjustments, such as an address change, made during that period will take effect with the October 1 issue. Of course, we will be happy to send you replacement copies for any missed issues.

If you have any questions about or problems with your subscription, you can call (800) 669-1002 until August 31. Beginning September 1, please call (800) 333-8536. Our operators will do their best to help you.

You may also write to us at the new address: *The Nation*, Box 10763, Des Moines, IA 50340-0763.

The Nation hopes to give you the best possible service. We appreciate your understanding and patience during this transition period.

Sincerely,

Margaret Pyle
Circulation Director

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Inside the Nixon Library

JON WIENER

The \$21 million Nixon Library in Yorba Linda, California, which opened July 20, takes visitors on a twisted trip down memory lane. From Helen Gahagan Douglas to E. Howard Hunt, the effort made here to reshape popular memory is more sweeping, more relentless, more sophisticated and more expensive than that undertaken by any other President.

The July 19 dedication was a cheerful occasion. While an audience of 50,000 sweltered under the desert sun and CNN broadcast the proceedings live, former Treasury Secretary William Simon spoke of Nixon's "lifelong commitment to peace and freedom"; Ronald Reagan said "the world is a better place—a safer place—because of Richard Nixon"; and President Bush asked, "Who can forget how much he endured in his quest for peace in Vietnam?" The people watching at my house yelled something like, "How much did the Vietnamese endure?" but CNN didn't hear; anchorman Bernard Shaw called it "a grand day." It made me wish Hunter Thompson had also been on the program, calling Nixon "a Born Loser. . . the predatory shyster who turns into something unspeakable, full of claws and bleeding string-warts, on nights when the moon comes too close." But instead Norman Vincent Peale wrapped things up.

Calling this a "library" is misleading; the place has no books or documents. Officials promise to open a basement archive in 1991 that will contain primarily pre- and postpresidential papers. Nixon, alone among Presidents, has been denied control of his presidential papers by an act of Congress. After he resigned and was pardoned, he signed an agreement with Gerald Ford's General Services Administration allowing the destruction of some of the papers and requiring the destruction of the White House tapes. An outraged Congress passed a law taking control of the materials away from Nixon and giving it to the federal government. The disgraced but defiant ex-President then challenged the law before the Su-

preme Court and lost. Even today library director Hugh Hewitt says Nixon's papers were "stolen" from him.

The Nixon presidential papers and tapes now rest in Alexandria, Virginia, where the National Archives has been working at declassifying them, but Reagan-era budget cuts slowed the process. Since 1978, when the processing began, 4 million pages have been released, along with twelve and a half hours of Watergate tapes; that leaves 40 million pages and 4,000 hours of tape that have not yet been processed. Nixon's lawsuits have blocked the release of 150,000 pages of documents. Library officials say their basement archive will include photocopies that will constitute "a complete collection of key presidential documents"; scholars and journalists respond to that claim with understandable skepticism.

If the library is weak on archives, it is strong on video: Visitors get to see Nixon's 1952 "Checkers" speech, in which the weepy vice-presidential candidate labored to exonerate himself of charges of corruption with maudlin references to his dog Checkers and his wife's "respectable Republican cloth coat." (Visitors are not told that columnist Walter Lippmann called the Checkers speech "the most demeaning experience my country has ever had to bear.") Next come the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates, featuring a brief glimpse of the 5 o'clock shadow that many believe lost Nixon the election. To re-create the original experience, viewers watch in a 1960 living room—an upscale one, with Reader's Digest Condensed Books on the mantel. Visitors also get to see Nixon's forgettable 1987 eulogy for Ohio State football coach Woody Hayes (but only if they get there by 10:30 in the morning). In the opinion of museum director Hewitt, none of these videos will be as popular as the tape of Tricia's wedding, which is shown at 10:45.

The "Hall of World Leaders" is one of the best, with life-size bronze statues of de Gaulle, Adenauer, Churchill, Sadat, Golda Meir, Mao, Zhou Enlai, Khrushchev and Brezhnev posed as if they were all at the same cocktail party. By touching a video screen, the visitor can learn what the library guide calls "their thoughts on Nixon." The thoughts contain few surprises: de Gaulle, for instance,

does not describe Nixon as "head of . . . the racist, fascist pig power structure" (as Bobby Seale did) but rather as "one of those frank and steady personalities on whom one feels one could rely in the greatest affairs of state."

"Richard Nixon: Hiss is your life," Garry Wills once wrote. Nixon, a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1947, pursued Whittaker Chambers's espionage charge against Alger Hiss, a prominent New Deal figure; Hiss's conviction for perjury propelled the formerly unknown Nixon into national prominence. The Hiss case is featured in the library; visitors to the museum are told that Hiss's Woodstock typewriter convicted him when samples typed on it were found to match documents Chambers said Hiss had given him to transmit to the Russians. The library display includes a replica of Hiss's Woodstock, and library officials told the *Los Angeles Times* that the original Hiss typewriter is kept in a vault in the library basement. Could it be true that Nixon has the Hiss typewriter? Most of the artifacts in the library are on loan from the National Archives; I asked archives spokeswoman Susan Cooper about the typewriter in the Nixon Library vault. "It's not ours," she said, "not the National Archives'." It turns out that it isn't Hiss's either: The typewriter was returned to Hiss after his trial and is now in the attic of filmmaker John Lowenthal.

The claim that Nixon has Hiss's typewriter in a vault in the library basement adds another bizarre chapter to a forty-year saga. At the time Chambers charged Hiss with espionage, the typewriter on which Hiss was said to have typed the documents was missing; Hiss claimed it would prove him innocent. Despite a massive F.B.I. effort to locate the typewriter, the Hiss defense found it and presented it triumphantly to the court, only to learn that it matched the Chambers documents. Ever since that time the Hiss defense has claimed that the typewriter was used to frame him, that the F.B.I. manufactured a phony duplicate Woodstock to match the Chambers documents and left it for Hiss to find—a type of fabrication that even Hiss critic Allen Weinstein acknowledged "had become standard procedure in the repertoire of espionage agencies by the time of the Second World War." For forty years the debate

Jon Wiener, a contributing editor of The Nation, teaches history at the University of California, Irvine.

has focused on the authenticity of the typewriter Hiss introduced at the trial; now it seems that in the Nixon Library vault there is a second phony Woodstock.

Needless to say, the "forgery by typewriter" theory is not presented in the library display. One visitor to it commented, "Isn't that something! I remember hearing about the pumpkin deal, but I never understood what it was about."

Other exhibits include the "Domestic Gifts" section, where one can see the Colt .45 pistol Elvis Presley gave Nixon when he visited the Oval Office in December 1970. The Elvis gun is surrounded by crocheted miniature doll hats, an electric football clock and a rock in the shape of Nixon's profile. In the official White House photo of "the President and the King" on display in the museum, Nixon wears a tweed suit and Elvis sports a flowing cape and a huge gold belt buckle. The photo has sold 31,000 copies—an all-time record for the National Archives; unfortunately it's not for sale at the library gift shop. Nor does the library reproduce Elvis's letter seeking an appointment with the President, volunteering to enlist in the war against drugs: "The Drug Culture, the Hippie Elements, the SDS, Black Panthers," he wrote, "do not consider me as their enemy."

At the end of the exhibits comes the "Presidential Forum," where a touch-screen video monitor allows visitors to "ask" Nixon questions in what is billed as a "Face-to-Face Dialogue." He "answers" on an immense video screen. This proved to be something of a disappointment; you "ask" by choosing questions listed under topics such as Watergate, the Vietnam War and "the media." The system contains 300 answers, drawn either from past interviews with Nixon or from statements he recorded recently in a studio. The list invites visitors to ask Nixon, "What is the source of your passion for peace?" A question that is not on the list is, "Are you a crook?"

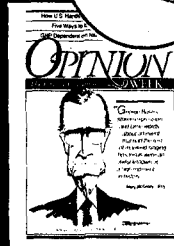
The museum's Vietnam display is its most reprehensible: It doesn't mention the fact that during the mid-1960s Nixon was the country's leading hawk, constantly attacking Johnson for not escalating the war. It barely mentions the 1970 invasion of Cambodia or the nationwide student strike that followed and the Kent State killings. It doesn't show Nixon calling campus demonstrators "bums," or the father of Allison Krause, one of the students killed at Kent State, replying on national TV, "My child was not a bum." It doesn't mention the illegal surveil-

OPINION WEEK

FREE
OFFER

A New Liberal Voice

OPINION WEEK reprints current syndicated, editorial commentary by over 36 influential columnists and America's most talented cartoonists—all with liberal viewpoints.



ENJOY A PANTHEON OF PUNDITS

FOLLOW EVERY COLUMN, AS A RULE, BY MARY MCGRORY, DAVID BRODER, TOM WICKER, COLMAN MCCARTHY, RICHARD COHEN, ELLEN GOODMAN, JESSE JACKSON, LINDA ELLERBEE, JIMMY BRESLIN. AND HUMORISTS ART BUCHWALD, RUSSELL BAKER, MARK RUSSELL, DAVE BARRY, ANDY ROONEY. PLUS BOB GREENE, MIKE ROYKO, CORETTA SCOTT KING, MURRAY KEMPTON, NEAL PEIRCE, RALPH NADER, MAX LERNER, MICHAEL KINSLEY, LES PAYNE, SANDY GRADY, CARL ROWAN, NAT HENTOFF. AS WELL AS MOST COLUMNS BY JAMES HOAGLAND, GERMOND AND WITCOVER, WILLIAM RASPBERRY, LARS-ERIK NELSON, ANTHONY LEWIS, HOBART ROWEN, CHRIS MATTHEWS, WILLIAM SCHNEIDER, ROGER SIMON, WILLIAM PFAFF.

DISCOVER A THOUSAND POINTS OF BITE

EVERY WEEK, DELIGHT IN THE BARBS BY FEIFFER, OLIPHANT, CONRAD, HERBLOCK, SZEP, PETERS, WASSERMAN, MARLETTE, MAULDIN, BORGMAN, SUMMERS, SACK, AND A DOZEN OTHER CARTOONISTS.

Just \$36 for one year, 52 issues

Tabloid size • Reference Guide • No paid ads • No newsstand

FREE SAMPLE: Check out 3 weekly issues free. No obligation. No gimmicks.

Call Toll-Free: 1-800-338-9335 (Business Hours Central Time Zone)

Or write to: OPINION WEEK P.O. BOX 468 - , VINTON, IA 52349

Vice President Dan Quayle

What is he doing? Saying?
Thinking? Forgetting?
Stay well-informed...

The Quayle Quarterly



**"Witty, irreverent, informative,
and just plain scary."** - Inside Media

\$12.00 for 1 year (4 issues)

\$3.95 for a sample issue

The Quayle Quarterly

**PO Box 8593T Brewster Station,
Bridgeport, CT 06605**

FOURTH STREET GRILL

1979-1989

TEN YEARS
STILL
HOT

1820 Fourth Street
Berkeley, California
849-0526

lance, harassment and prosecution of antiwar activists under Attorney General John Mitchell. Instead, visitors are told the antiwar movement consisted of "a violent minority" that "used force and intimidation to stifle debate; they used bombs to proclaim their message that there should be no bombing; they took lives while professing that they were trying to save lives."

The library's Watergate display, a dark, uninviting corridor filled with small print, shows that Tricky Dick is alive and well in Yorba Linda. Before the library opened, officials repeatedly told reporters three key Watergate tapes would be played in their entirety for visitors. One tape is available; its most significant portions have been deleted. It's the eighteen-and-a-half minute gap all over again. The "smoking gun" tape, recorded July 23, 1972, reveals that Nixon approved a plan to have the C.I.A. tell the F.B.I. to stop investigating Watergate. In the Nixon Library version, however, a narrator explains that what Nixon really said was, "The best thing to do is to let the investigation proceed unhindered." Why that would bring Barry Goldwater and the Senate Republican leadership to advise Nixon to resign is not explained.

The Watergate room leaves out a few other things: It doesn't mention Nixon's use of the F.B.I., C.I.A. and White House "plumbers" to harass, spy on and punish those on the President's "enemies list." It doesn't mention the criminal convictions of Nixon's senior aides for carrying out these actions. It doesn't mention the resignation of the disgraced Vice President Spiro Agnew. Most incredible of all, it doesn't mention that Gerald Ford pardoned Nixon for his crimes. Instead, the Watergate affair is described the way Nixon has always described it: not as a systematic abuse of power but as a single act, a second-rate burglary carried out by overzealous underlings without his knowledge, followed by a partisan vendetta in which Democrats sought to reverse the "mandate of the 1972 election" by forcing him from office.

Nixon can get away with all this because it's his museum, financed completely by private donations from rich friends. His is the only privately run presidential library. The Kennedy and Johnson libraries run by the National Archives contain virtually no criticism of their subjects, but it's inconceivable that an archives-run Nixon Library would delete key portions of the Watergate tapes. Anyone with \$21 million can build a museum

and fill it with lies about what he or she has done—that's what it means to live in a free country.

Admission is considerably cheaper than at nearby Disneyland—\$3.95 versus \$25.50.

Nixon has plenty of help in his campaign to rearrange his place in the cavalcade of Presidents. Ronald Reagan, in an interview before the library dedication, spoke about Nixon with characteristic insight: "I think much of the criticism was based on nothing at all. I think that looking at it fairly, they should view some of the great strides that he made in international relations and so forth with our country." But it isn't just the Republicans who emphasize Nixon's "great strides"; a similar argument has been put forward by some thinkers on the left, especially Gore Vidal and Robert Scheer.

Nixon enables us to "observe our faults larger than life," Vidal writes; "but we can also, if we try, see in this huge, dusty mirror our virtues as well." Nixon's greatest virtues, of course, are his trips to Peking and Moscow, diplomacy without precedent, which "demonstrate[d] to all the world the absolute necessity of co-existence." As a result, "we are all of us in Nixon's debt" for bringing to an end "one-third of a century of dangerous nonsense." Those two trips, Vidal argues, prove "that there is not only good in him but in us as well—hope, too." Vidal happily concedes that Nixon was "corrupt some of the time, and complex and devious all of the time." But people who emphasize only these traits "make him appear uniquely sleazy—and the rest of us just grand." His predecessor L.B.J. "far surpassed Nixon when it came to mendacity and corruption," and the crimes and corruptions of the Reagan era outstrip anything Nixon's cronies did.

Scheer makes a similar case, relying on a Nixon expert: George McGovern. "In dealing with the two major Communist powers, Nixon probably had a better record than any President since World War II," McGovern said in a 1984 interview. "He put us on the course to practical working relationships with both the Russians and the Chinese." Nixon also negotiated the first strategic arms limita-

tion treaty with the Soviet Union. After his resignation, when Reagan renewed the cold war and barked about the "evil empire," Nixon published *The Real Peace*, a defense of détente and an implicit challenge to Reagan. There's more: Under Nixon the Environmental Protection Agency was established, the draft was abolished, 18-year-olds were given the vote and a serious reform of the welfare system was attempted.

All this is hard to swallow for those of us who have spent most of our lives as Nixon-haters. Do we have to agree with Vidal that Nixon is "an infamous man who has done great deeds for his country"? The China trip can't be separated from its context and its motivation. When Nixon went to China in 1972, the United States had been defeated in the ground war in Vietnam and was withdrawing its troops; at the same time Nixon was increasing the bombing tremendously. His motive in going to China was not to end the cold war but to prevent Chinese leaders from reacting to the intensified U.S. bombing of North Vietnam. During his presidency, Daniel Ellsberg reminds us, Nixon was responsible for dropping 4.5 million tons of bombs on Indochina, more than twice as much firepower as was used in all of World War II on both Europe and Asia.

But did Nixon's opening to China and détente with the Soviet Union make anti-communism untenable? Did it begin the process that culminated in 1989 in the end of the cold war? Détente with the Russians was potentially more significant, but it didn't last; it didn't stop Reagan from launching what historians call the second cold war against that "evil empire," during which he persuaded Congress to pay for the biggest peacetime military buildup in our history. Nixon didn't end the cold war; Gorbachev did, and the witless Reagan will go down in history as his partner in that achievement.

There are a few other black marks on Nixon's record. He prolonged the Vietnam War for five years even though the 1973 settlement was essentially the one the Vietnamese offered in 1968. His war against Cambodia, a neutral country, was illegal and immoral, and was never declared by Congress. Others have their own favorite Nixon crimes: For some it was his sponsorship of the coup against Salvador Allende in Chile, which destroyed Latin America's oldest democracy; for others it was his creation of McCarthyism—before Joe McCarthy—

"This book gives us glimpses of our historical life...Dig through [it] as you would a hope chest, finding and holding up to view its mementos, treasures and jewels." - E.L.Doctorow

The Nation

SELECTIONS
FROM THE INDEPENDENT
MAGAZINE OF POLITICS
AND CULTURE

JAMES AGEE • NELSON ALGREN • HANNAH
ARENDT • MARGARET ATWOOD • W.H. AUDEN
• JAMES BALDWIN • WILLA CATHER •
ALEXANDER COCKBURN • EMILY DICKINSON •
JOHN DOS PASSOS • W.E.B. DuBOIS • ALBERT
EINSTEIN • LAWRENCE FERLINGHETTI • ROBERT
FROST • CARLOS FUENTES • FEDERICO GARCIA
LORCA • EMMA GOLDMAN • LANGSTON HUGHES
• HENRY JAMES • MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. •
D.H. LAWRENCE • ROBERT LOWELL • THOMAS
MANN • MARY MCCARTHY • H.L. MENCKEN •
ARTHUR MILLER • HENRY MILLER • MARIANNE
MOORE • PABLO NERUDA • OCTAVIO PAZ •
SYLVIA PLATH • EZRA POUND • BERTRAND
RUSSELL • JEAN PAUL SARTRE • UPTON
SINCLAIR • WALLACE STEVENS • I.F. STONE
• HUNTER S. THOMPSON • JAMES THURBER •
CALVIN TRILLIN • DALTON TRUMBO • GORE
VIDAL • KURT VONNEGUT • ALICE WALKER •
WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS

EDITED BY
KATRINA VANDEN HEUVEL
INTRODUCTION BY
E. L. DOCTOROW
AFTERWORD BY VICTOR NAVASKY

1
8
6
5
1
9
9
0

THE NATION 1865-1990
documents a rich legacy of
independent progressive
thought in an anthology of
staggering scope, outstanding
quality, and long-lasting
historical import. This
landmark book includes 125
years of political and cultural
commentary, plus a brilliant
selection of poetry, by an
astonishing international
collection of luminary writers.

560 pages, Illustrated
\$ 21.95 (cloth)

ALSO AVAILABLE :

THE PEOPLE RISING

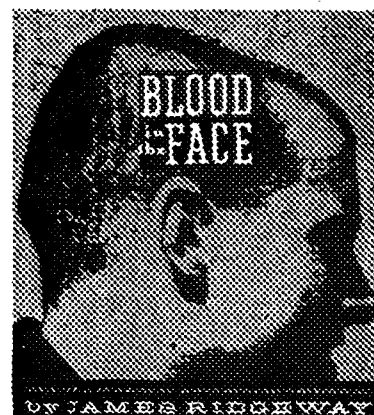
The Campaign Against the Bork Nomination
By Michael Pertschuk & Wendy Schaezel
\$24.95 (d) \$13.95 (pbk)

AFTER ALL THESE YEARS

Sixties Ideals in a Different World
By Lauren Kessler, \$13.95 (pbk)

BLOOD IN THE FACE

The Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, Nazi Skinheads,
and the Rise of a New White Culture (Fall 1990)
By James Ridgeway, \$29.95(d) \$18.95(pbk)



ORDERING INFORMATION

Send check or money order with \$ 2.00 postage for the first
book and \$.50 for each additional to: Thunder's Mouth Press,
54 Greene Street, 4S, Dept. N, New York, NY 10013, 212-226-
0277. (NY residents add 8.25 % sales tax /NJ residents add 7%).
American Express orders may be placed by phone.

HOW TO JEOPARDIZE A PERFECTLY GOOD FRIENDSHIP.

Give someone you care about a gift subscription to *The Nation*.

In all likelihood, the recipient will get just as enraged, worked up and aggravated about the issues the magazine covers as our regular subscribers do.

That's because *The Nation* covers those issues with a critical spirit and an independent perspective that set us apart from other publications. Which isn't surprising, since it's written by such original thinkers as Alexander Cockburn, Kirkpatrick Sale and Frances FitzGerald.

And politics isn't all we cover. Our subscribers also enjoy our writing on the arts, which is of such extraordinary clarity and intelligence that it alone is worth the price of a subscription.

So maybe you should give *The Nation* as a gift after all.

Just be sure your relationship can stand it.

The Nation.
Subscribing to our principles
isn't enough.

YES! I THINK MY RELATIONSHIP CAN TAKE IT. Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just \$18 for the first gift and \$15 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO _____ (Please print)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

GIFT FROM (Your name) _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ subscription(s).
☐ Bill me later.

Foreign surface postage: add \$7/24 issues.
Air Mail rates available upon request.
Subscriptions payable in U.S. funds.

THE NATION
P.O. BOX 10791, DES MOINES, IA 50340-0791

as a political tactic in the late 1940s; for still others it was his Supreme Court nominees—Clement Haynsworth, G. Harrold Carswell and finally William Rehnquist.

Thus the Nixon Library story is mostly bad news. But some of the news is good: First, Nixon had a hard time finding a place that would accept his library. Duke University and the University of California, Irvine, turned it down. The Duke faculty said it didn't want anything "designed to foster the glorification of the former President." Irvine said it would accept only if the institution was primarily a research archive. (Journalism ethics alert: As a faculty member at Irvine, I supported the proposed restrictions.) San Clemente was another site Nixon wanted but didn't get. Yorba

Linda was thus his fourth choice.

Finally, attendance at the library since opening day has been low. The day I visited, several galleries were empty. In the "Prime Time Theater," where the program was "Nixon announces he will visit China," the entire audience consisted of two people, and the large "Domestic Affairs" room had nobody in it at all. Despite massive publicity, despite the fact that Nixon put his library deep in the southern California Republican heartland, despite the fact that admission is considerably cheaper than at nearby Disneyland—\$3.95 versus \$25.50—people aren't showing much interest in having their historical memories reprogrammed. In this we see our virtues; we see that there is good in America after all. □

Exile on Main Street

MIKLÓS VÁMOS

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE OUTSIDE. By Andrei Codrescu. Addison-Wesley. 216 pp. \$17.95.

Once upon a time (one August evening in 1956) there was "a thousand-year-old shepherd wrapped in a cloak of smoke," and he was telling a Romanian fairy tale around a campfire somewhere in the heights of the Carpathian Mountains. The story of Mioritza, the wise sheep, was heard by 10-year-old Andrei Codrescu and his friend Ion.

Ion stayed in Romania where he is a professor of literature. . . . I left the country and changed languages but have not stopped telling Mioritza's tale. Ion and I have merely divided the job: he maintained it inside the borders of a modern police state called "Romania," while I kept it outside. . . . One of us is inside, the other outside. But which is which?

Reading Andrei Codrescu's new book, we can always hear another whispering voice across and under his own. Romania and Romanians, Eastern Europe and East Europeans are always present, even when he is talking about America. This double point of view makes the essays in this book interesting and unique. The ten parts, the foreword and the notes merge into an intellectual autobiography containing the literary pet peeves of an American poet and thinker who lives in

the West but can never forget the East.

One chapter is titled "How to Become a Better Romanian," but in fact it tells us How to Become a Better Surrealist. Codrescu the poet is already a better surrealist. And the poet is also always present in this book, which is subtitled *A Manifesto for Escape*. From where and to where does he want to escape? He already escaped from Romania in the heyday of socialism, and this couldn't have been an easy move. When you have to escape from your home country, you lose lots of things. If your home was in the Soviet bloc you could lose your life, to begin with. From the 1950s to the 1980s the bloc was surrounded by mine fields. Many dogs and deer died there, along with a few émigrés.

I know people who swam underwater across the river between Romania and Yugoslavia while border guards shot at them. Others went to East Germany and tried to hide in the trunk or *behind* the dashboard of Western friends' cars (this is not a joke). Some desperate men fabricated catapult machines, while others tried to drive through the border in an ambulance, blowing the horn and the siren. At Checkpoint Charlie near the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin, there was an exhibit about the different methods of wall- or border-hopping.

Readers may suppose Codrescu is talking about escaping from the Eastern bloc. But in fact when the Ceausescu regime collapsed he returned to his hometown, Sibiu, where he wrote the first chapter. Soon he showed up on TV screens in Romania and in the United States (he reported on the bloody events for *Night-*

Miklós Vámos is a Hungarian writer.

line). The fall of the dictatorship was a personal victory for those Romanians who live in exile. Codrescu mentions that although exile means "off base" in Latin, he prefers other English phonetic associations, like "exit." Yet instead Codrescu, who became an American poet and a commentator for National Public Radio, found an entrance in the United States.

Being a European in the United States and an American in Europe, he knows the limits of life here and over there. There is only one territory left, that of the imagination. Codrescu is dreaming about a place (country? planet? universe?) where literature is to be read and not sold. On our planet the gap between artists and the masses has been deepening. Writers work at computer screens while the audiences prefer television screens. When the masses do read, they prefer books that contain useful facts, gossip or practical advice. Literature has become the plaything of a small circle, and it has less and less relation to the outside world. "Most writing today appears headed for the résumé, its final resting place," Codrescu laments.

The heroes of Codrescu's book are writers in exile—writers who try to stay writers outside their country, like Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Czeslaw Milosz, Witold Gombrowicz and Milan Kundera (an exception, who lives not in the United States but in France). Émigrés usually lose their language, relatives, friends and belongings. But there is more: They lose their adulthood. At the beginning, they don't know more than children do and, like children, they need help while they are studying language, habits and traditions. If the émigrés are generally children, writers in exile are babies: In losing their language they lose their basic craftsmanship, too. Some of them never accept their new country, and their new country often won't accept them either. Others believe it's not that bad to be a child again. When in Rome do as the Romans do: They only speak and write Italian . . . American, I mean.

Codrescu succeeded in adopting the valuable part of American culture without giving up what he had brought along from Romania and Eastern Europe—his history and historical sensitivity. Those who haven't tried wouldn't know how difficult it is to learn a new culture while keeping the old one.

Codrescu's prophecy about the bleak future of American culture is sad. If things don't change for the better, junk

books will exclusively occupy the stores and the shelves. Literature won't be published, or if it is, it will meet a dreadful fate:

In America, poetry, first novels, translations and many so-called literary books, if insufficiently sold, are not just pulled off the shelves: they are taken to a special place and destroyed. One such place is a factory in New Jersey where books are boiled in great big vats. The pulp of literature is then made back into inferior paper for shopping bags and advertising circulars. One stands before the great boiling vats of Jersey meditating on the fate of the carefully considered words.

Codrescu admits that one of his books was boiled in those vats. "It deserved it," he adds. It's difficult to agree. Literature should remain literature, bad or good, and shouldn't be turned into shopping bags. Will this book wind up there? We don't know. It is at the mercy of dumb luck—which has become a major factor in the U.S. book business—although it should stay on the shelf of everyone who is rooting for the future of American thought.

Will its message be taken seriously enough? Codrescu is not so sure. After all, he is only an exile, and "Western artists are not taking kindly to this invasion by exiles." Immigrant writers of Eastern Europe gave more to the world than they received, and still they are black sheep, according to him. I am more optimistic about the acceptance on the American cultural scene (if not by the Western artists themselves) of immigrants who try to write in English. I doubt that any American émigré would be accepted in Romania (Hungary, Poland) as a Romanian (Hungarian, Polish) poet and radio commentator. Well . . . Americans usually don't emigrate to the Eastern bloc.

I cannot help mentioning that while I am writing about Codrescu's book I am sitting in the garden of Pierson College at Yale University. The setting looks like Oxford, England; there is an almost absolute (obsolete?) silence here; the outside world is kept out by old walls, strong gates and fences. Still, all dangers can't be kept out. Next door in Sterling Library thousands of old and precious volumes are in danger because of pollution. Some of them contain knowledge that can't survive without preserving those books—like the tale of Mioritza, the wise sheep. There is no money to save the books. Almost everything that people do on this earth hurts the books. Except reading. And writing. □

Oxford

The Politics of National Security

Congress and U.S. Defense Policy
Barry M. Blechman,

Johns Hopkins University

"Barry Blechman has written an insightful and richly detailed account of the interactions between the executive and legislative branches on national security issues over the last two decades." — Senator Sam Nunn.
(*A Twentieth Century Fund Book*)
October 1990 272 pp. \$24.95

Courts, Corrections, and the Constitution

The Impact of Judicial Intervention

on Prisons and Jails
Edited by JOHN J. DI IULIO, JR.,
Princeton University

"In this unique and indispensable volume, Professor DiIulio and his distinguished co-authors bring order, reason, and illumination to the debate over judicial intervention in corrections." — Charles H. Logan,
University of Connecticut
1990 288 pp. \$32.50

Freedom Under Thatcher

Civil Liberties in Modern Britain

DR. K.D. EWING, *Trinity Hall, Cambridge and King's College, London*, and DR. C.A. GEARTY, *Cambridge University*

This book examines the changes in the laws of civil liberties that have occurred under the Conservative government in Britain.
1990 250 pp. paper \$11.95
cloth \$45.00

Democracy Without Citizens

Media and the Decay of American Politics

ROBERT M. ENTMAN,
Northwestern University

"An important contribution to our understanding of both the role and limitations of the press in advancing the democratic agenda."
— Marvin Kalb, *Harvard University*.
1989 (paper 1990) 256 pp.
paper \$11.95 cloth \$22.50

The Enabling State

Modern Welfare Capitalism in America

NEIL GILBERT, *University of California, Berkeley*, and BARBARA GILBERT

"A thorough, sophisticated account of the transformation of the welfare state in the United States." — *Society*.
1989 240 pp. \$32.50

Prices and publication dates are subject to change and good only in the U.S.

To order, send check or money order to:
Department MG

To order by phone
using major credit cards,
please call (212) 679-7300 ext. 7106.

**Oxford
University Press**

200 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10016

MOVING?

Send both your old mailing label and your new address to:

THE NATION
P.O. Box 10763
Des Moines IA 50340-0763

Please allow 4-6 weeks for processing.

PROBLEMS?

If you have any problems or questions regarding your subscription, please write to us at the address above, or call:

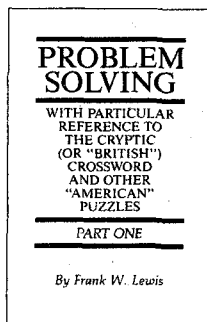
(800) 669-1002*

8:30 am to 8:30 pm EST

*Please note this number is for subscriber inquiries only.

PROBLEM SOLVING

by Frank W. Lewis



- Cryptic crosswords
- Monoalphabetic substitution
- American crosswords
- Diagramless
- New multielement puzzles
- Problems for *you* to solve

\$8.95

Make an \$8.95 check or money order payable to E.S. Lewis and mail to "Problem Solving," 32 Pembroke Avenue, Acushnet, MA 02743.

ART.

ARTHUR C. DANTO

Hans Hofmann

There is a photographic portrait, taken in 1960 by Arnold Newman, of Hans Hofmann in his studio. The artist, then in his eighty-first year, is leaning on a table (which holds seven tubes of oil paint, a coffee can and two large brushes) peering directly out at the viewer, while his left arm points over his right shoulder to the painting behind him, placed upright on his easel, as if to say, Behold! The painting, at first glance, is typical of Hofmann's work of the early 1960s, and indeed of the last phase of his life, in which he found himself as a painter. It is a composition of juxtaposed rectangles, in various proportions, but large in relationship to the canvas, and so far as I can tell it is not among the works assembled in the large retrospective exhibition devoted to Hofmann at the Whitney Museum of American Art, though there are a good many works from the same period that differ from it scarcely at all. The object on the easel is nevertheless extremely puzzling. Both the gesture of the artist, straight out of the repertoire of Baroque portraits in which some personage points to something to which the viewer is meant to respond, and the fact that the work is signed and dated (1959), imply that the painting is finished and the easel used merely for purposes of display. But if we look carefully at the photograph, we find that the painting seems still in progress, for Hofmann has fastened several rectangles of paper to the surface with pushpins, which was a standard part of his procedure in those years: moving rectangles of colored paper around on the surface until they looked right to an eye that had been looking at paintings this way all his life. And then, when they did look right, translating paper rectangles into painted ones by tracing the outline of the paper and filling it in with paint.

At a certain point in the life of the work, it would resemble a sort of abstract bulletin board, with odds and ends of blank colored paper pinned to the canvas, with, at the end, a painted record of the final disposition, the work itself, which the bits and pieces helped visualize. The work itself could, uncharitably, be said to look like a painted abstract bulletin

board, but in fact the redemption of paper by paint was a transition from rectangles affixed to a surface to rectangles both on the surface and within a represented space, and this double locus of the painted rectangle was pretty much what Hofmann taught that painting was all about. Painting, he tirelessly maintained as both teacher and writer, was inherently representational, which meant that the picture plane must be preserved in its two-dimensionality and at the same time achieve a three-dimensional effect. The paintings through which he showed this were made of rectangles or had rectangles among their chief components. But whereas all paintings are representational, Hofmann's, in addition, are about pictorial representation. This concept of representation was more vernacularly, even jocularly, designated "Push and Pull" in Hofmann's schools of art, where it became a kind of affectionately repeated slogan, as if it were a school cheer, as it condensed the master's view of "the laws of painting."

They are indeed laws, and as such there is nothing an artist especially need do in order that they apply, though bringing them to consciousness doubtless spares a painter a certain degree of frustration, should she or he seek to work against their grain. Every painting is a two-dimensional surface, even the rather "fat, heavy, and eloquent surface[s]," as Clement Greenberg describes them, that Hofmann influentially effected. No doubt, in the interest of illusion, painters in the past at times sought to render their surfaces invisible, or absolutely transparent, putting the viewer in immediate contact with the scene depicted as if through air. No doubt again, in the interest of anti-illusion, painters sought to render pictorial space invisible by treating paint so opaquely that the question of seeing through it could not arise. But the most polished surface remains a surface, while the flattest surface implies depth, so the laws come into effect the moment one draws a line, makes a smudge, a dab, a stroke, or floats a wash or a glaze. What perhaps can be said is that Hofmann's rectangles make Push and Pull particularly perspicuous. If as an artist what you wish to teach is the truth of Push and Pull, then rectangles will serve admirably as a means, just as tiled floors or coffered ceilings are perfect means for demonstrating perspectival depth. As a general rule, artists did not make perspective thematic in their work, as it was what was taking place in space—crucifixions,

adorations, martyrdoms, ascensions—that was the primary occasion of the work. Hofmann too was interested in matters other than Push and Pull, but as a painter he was mainly a teacher of painting, and if not Push and Pull, then various of the other Hofmannian categories would pretty much be the substance of his work. His teaching and his practice were very largely one.

Hans Hofmann was an inspiring teacher, and his schools were among the shaping institutions of American art in the 1940s and 1950s. That is what justifies an exhibition at the Whitney Museum of American Art for an artist born in Weissenburg, Germany, who moved to this country only when he was in his 50s, when the institution otherwise cites American birth as an exclusionary principle of self-definition. Perhaps it would have been a fitter tribute to have had a show of his many students—Krasner, Frankenthaler, Rivers, Grooms, Diller, Vytlačil, Holty and many others perhaps less well known but as good or better artists than they. “I have students all over the world,” Hofmann wrote in 1956, “many thousands of them who have become ambassadors for the spread of my basic ideas, and every one of them is doing it in his own individual way.” It confirms the truth that Push and Pull is invariant to painting, that there is no “Hofmann” style among his students, as may easily be seen from the list just cited. (Diller, Grooms and Krasner hardly look as though they could have come out of the same curriculum.) But it could also be explained by the fact that Hofmann’s own style, or really set of styles, was not particularly infectious. There is something about Hofmann’s paintings that would lead me, were I a painter, to want not to paint like him. I am not one who supposes there to be an incompatibility between doing and teaching, any muting of creative powers—in the field I know best, that of professional philosophy, there has hardly been a thinker of the first magnitude since Kant who was not also a teacher. (For some among these, teaching was also the substance of their thought, or part of it, as in the case of John Dewey, though the principles that animated Dewey’s views on teaching bore on logic, epistemology, value theory, aesthetics and metaphysics.) I think Hofmann probably was as good a painter as he was a teacher, but that the principles of his teaching were also the substance of his painting. For him, more than any other

artist I know of, the art school was his world, the horizons of the art school the horizons of his art, even when he decided at age 78 to close his schools and devote himself full-time to painting.

Consider, once again, the painting in Arnold Newman’s photograph. I am not certain how to remove the contradiction between, on the one side, the date and signature and, on the other, the pinned-on rectangular swatches. Hofmann could have signed and dated a painting in 1959 on which he was still at work in 1960; or he could have decided in 1960 that the

painting needed more work, despite the signature and date, and it was at some moment of revision that Newman captured him on film. But there is another explanation possible, namely that he was not so much working on the painting as he was showing someone, perhaps Newman, the truth of Push and Pull, and how one moves from cut-out to painted rectangles, in the timeless processes of pictorial transubstantiation. Hofmann had turned his school into his studio, but the spiritual truth is that he *was* the school, whose codes and motifs totally

STANLEY CROUCH
is

“PROVOCATIVE”

—Time

“A writer of exceptional brilliance, powerful enough to command respect even when one disagrees totally with his premise.”

—Los Angeles Times

“He is not only provocative but perceptive and, on more than one occasion, wise.”

—The Washington Post Book World

“An all-inclusive, almost Whitmanesque vision of what it means to be American.”

—Boston Globe

“Bold and pitiless.”

—The New York Times Book Review

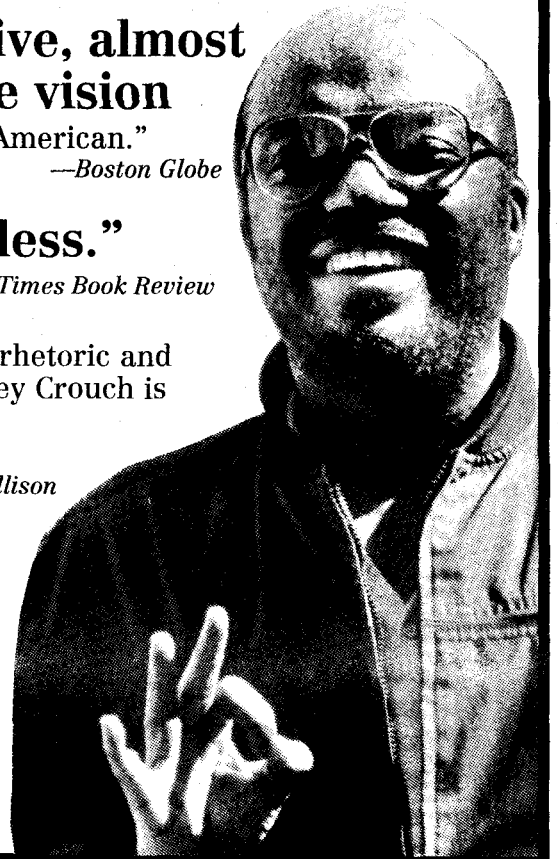
“Behind his dissenter’s rhetoric and hangman’s mask, Stanley Crouch is actually a benign and eloquent provocateur.”

—Ralph Ellison

Judge for yourself

NOTES OF A HANGING JUDGE

New From Oxford



defined his estimable but limited vision.

The installation of the Whitney show is intelligent, even if dictated by certain architectural exigencies, as explained to me by guest curator Cynthia Goodman. What you first see are in effect Hofmann's last paintings, to your right as you exit the elevator. These are large but not immense canvases, still easel paintings, representational in Hofmann's sense, but abstract. Many contain his signature rectangles, which are large and somewhat awkwardly placed, and these share the spaces of the picture with some energetic brushing, some strokes of impasto, an occasional flurry of drips and drops, and sometimes a thread of paint that could have been squeezed out of the tube onto the canvas. *Song of the Nightingale* of 1964 has a large green rectangle and a cadmium yellow one that overlaps a white one, floating above it. These look sharp-edged, especially in contrast with the smoky-edged rectangles that are brushed into clouds of pigment, but they are not simply mechanical transfers of sheets of paper, and have nice painty edges that trespass their geometrical boundaries. I suppose the sharpish rectangles Pull and the smoky ones Push—the one comes forward and the other one goes back. To the right is a pink rectangle overbrushed with white dabs, which is partly Pull—it has two sharp upper corners—and partly Push—its bottom corners dissolve into something more fluid, less definite, less geometrical, more paint and less form. *Song of the Nightingale* is typical of Hofmann's late production, with its balanced combination of sharp and fluid, filled-in and brushed-on forms. It defines a sort of norm. There are other paintings, like *Flaming Lava*, which is almost all scraped- or brushed-on pigment, with a lovely passage in which some coral strokes play against an ocher form en-

deavoring to become a definite oblong; and still others, like *Cathedral*, where rectangles abut one another like tectonic plates and where there is very little of the swinging brushiness, everything seeming heavily regimented, vertical and horizontal. The titles suggest some reference beyond Push and Pull. *Sun in the Foliage* has a bright yellow rectangle (the sun) swagged with green scrubbed paint around one corner and reddish brushed paint around another (the foliage). *Rising Moon* has a yellow disk in the upper left corner. If they can be abstract and representational at once, they can be abstract and referential at once as well. With a lot of the abstract work of Hofmann's era, one could chase down references—to a tree, a bird, the sun, some flowers—so that the paintings could then be taken as abstract landscapes, still lifes, interiors. The point in Hofmann is less that these are references to real things than that they refer to genres of academic painting. Looked at this way, the painting that serves as cover to the catalogue, *Cap Cod—Its Eboullency of Sumer* of 1961, resolves itself into a vase of red flowers with some green foliage, the upper right blue square becomes a window, the elongated yellow vertical below it a patch of sunlight.

I have always been lukewarm toward Hofmann's work, though I have wanted very much to like it. I have vivid recollections of walking through shows of his at Kootz's gallery, trying to respond to them when they left me cold, exercises in Push and Pull, in lime and magenta, crimson and orange, straight and brushy, desultorily referential. There was always the explanation that Hofmann was difficult. Greenberg wrote in an important essay in 1961, happily reprinted in the Whitney catalogue, that "Hofmann is perhaps the most difficult artist alive—difficult to grasp and to appreciate." But hardly more difficult, one would have thought, than work I found enthralling without the benefit of reading what critics and theorists had written about it: that of Rothko and De Kooning, Newman and Motherwell, Pollock and Kline. Besides, Hofmann's did not really *feel* difficult—it seemed sunny, and ingratiating, but without depth. It was like a wine that comes on with a certain rush but has nothing to follow it up, was without levels and allusions and depths. Greenberg said, "The only way to begin placing Hofmann's art"—and it is striking that for him difficulty meant difficul-

ty of *placement*—"is by taking cognizance of the uniqueness of his life's course, which has cut across as many art movements as national boundaries, and put him in several different centers of art at the precise time of their most fruitful activity." Well, that is what this exhibition seeks to do, and in which its great value lies. We leave the last work and enter, so to speak, upon the life, and then, following Hofmann's career through six decades, we return to the beginning of the show and the flamboyant climax of his art. Let me stress that I found the last paintings no more rewarding than when I had seen them, or their peers, at Kootz's. But the exhibition helped me answer the question not so much of Hofmann's difficulty but of my difficulty with Hofmann.

The show begins with some figure drawings done in 1898, life studies of figures not as they are seen in life but as in art schools: nudes on platforms, kneeling, stretching, seen from the back and from the front. Hofmann was 18 when he did them, and his mature life accordingly overlapped the entire history of modern art—the Fauves, the Cubists, Kandinsky's first abstractions, German Expressionism, Surrealism, to mention the movements that seem to have impinged on his sensibilities most. He sketched alongside Matisse at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière. He got to know Picasso and became friends with the Delaunays. But impingement remains the exact relationship in which Hofmann stood to the history through which he was living. He was keeping up with current events but not contributing to them, and his subjects remain those of the atelier: the vase of flowers, the posed figure, the occasional portrait, the still life, the studio interior, the harbor view with sailboats; and this canon of suitable subjects became the basis for his abstractions, when he went abstract. The work over this long stretch of time is a geological record of styles and mannerisms as adapted to the studio canon. Consider just the *Self-Portrait With Brushes* of 1942. It is an exercise in assimilated Cubism, wherein loose areas of color are drawn through and given definition by black painted lines in which forms are in effect drawn with the brush. Hofmann was 62 and vigorous, but merely a master of academic modernism, and still doing what must be called student work, however advanced. Two years later he was doing dripped abstraction, learning the next lesson that the great correspondence school of history sent his way.

**Come
to the
Fair!**

...*World's Fair*, the quarterly journal of international exhibitions, fairs and festivals—their people, pageantry and politics. Lots of good reading; part fun, part social history, with a guide to events on six continents. Write or phone for a free sample issue.

PO Box 339, Dept. B-9a
Corte Madera, CA 94925
(415) 924-6035

*World's
Fair.*
Published since 1981

Or, if you like, until the late style, the Hofmann corpus is like a Platonic cavern, on the walls of which the great historical happenings cast their shadows. It is still art-school abstraction when he becomes something more than a practitioner and adaptor.

Abstractionism is not so much a liberation from the subject as a license to take on subjects that could not have been treated, except allegorically, within the framework of similitude that defined Western painting. Greenberg commends Hofmann for not expanding the scale of his work, but for the masters of the New York School, expansion of format was a metaphor for the expansion of themes. Pollock, De Kooning, Newman and Gottlieb were metaphysicians and shamans, and their themes were magic and mystery, force and flesh, spirit and suffering, energy and death, passion and self. The geometrical abstractionists of the 1920s were looking for doors into the fourth dimension, Platonic reality, mathematical beauty, intellectual absolutes. Hofmann's vision was severely limited, alongside these, bounded by the pedagogical motifs of the life class, the class in advanced composition, the outdoor painting class. In the academic tradition, before modernism, these motifs were stepping stones to the grand historical paintings and the large political and religious themes. By Hofmann's time they had become vestigial, ends in themselves, stepping stones to the depiction of reality so long as reality was supposed to consist of pots of flowers on *gueridons*, sailboats and bathers, girls in armchairs, the fisherman's shack of Rockport, the trees at Fontainebleau, barns against the Vermont hills, self-portraits with brushes. How little this reality was reality remained for the Pop artists to show.

Art criticism sometimes is little more than seeking reasons for responses. I have been seeking some explanation of what it is about Hofmann's work that stops me, but these reasons may count for nothing if your responses are different and in agreement with those of impressive critics who think him great. You will have to see for yourself. Whatever your reaction, the exhibition is very deep, raising questions about art through Hofmann's art that were never raised by it per se. It remains at the Whitney until September 16. From November through January 1991, it will be housed at the Center for the Fine Arts in Miami; and from February through April of 1991 it will be at the Chrysler Museum in Norfolk, Virginia. □

BOOK NOTE.

GENE SANTORO

HIT MEN. By Fredric Dannen. Times Books/Random House. 387 pp. \$19.95.

As late as the 1960s, the recording industry was still a ragtag collection of companies of different sizes that could nevertheless compete on roughly equivalent levels. A tiny label could produce a major national hit partly because everybody shared the same fragmented regional distribution systems, partly because radio was looser and more open—via payola and the independent tastes of individual disc jockeys—to smaller companies' efforts. Now the industry has evolved into a few major labels that control 96 percent of the U.S. retail market as well as the only national distribution pipelines—which means their products are the only ones guaranteed a presence in stores, especially chains, across the country.

Fredric Dannen's *Hit Men* touches on these developments but focuses on another part of the market-control mechanism in the record industry: the institutionalization of payola. According to Dannen, the payola scandal that broke the likes of Alan Freed in 1960 had an ironic result. First, responsibility for choosing what would go on the air was taken from the deejays and centralized in station program directors in order to minimize abuse. What it did instead, as Dannen sees it, was create an opportunity for the major labels and organized-crime affiliates. Dannen's sources estimate that in 1982, CBS—which he says helped formulate the system and used it most heavily—spent \$10 million to hire independent promoters, who in return supposedly generated widespread airplay for the records they were paid to represent. By upping the ante for the promoters' services beyond the smaller labels' reach, the majors could effectively dominate radio and thus guarantee themselves an ever-increasing market share.

The ironic twist came when the promoters began to hold the industry hostage for more and more. Their power, as Dannen notes, did not derive from their ability to make hits; contrary to paranoid myth, nobody's ever really figured out

Gene Santoro writes on music for The Nation.



LIBIDO

*Erotica For People
Who Like To Read*

- Quarterly -

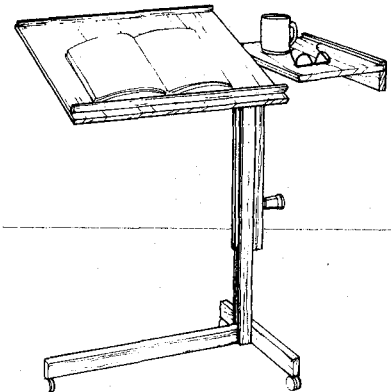
\$20 in the U.S.

\$30 Elsewhere

(For surface mail. For Airmail
add \$20 to Europe and \$30 to Asia,
Australia and South America.)

P.O. Box 146721, Chicago, IL 60614

Lay Down Your Arms



Ah, to read without aching arms and dented elbows. Now you can with our teak Reader's Table from Denmark. It adjusts easily to hold your book at just the right height and angle. Reading becomes surprisingly comfortable in a chair, beside a desk, or in bed. An intelligent design and a handsome piece of furniture.

\$184 includes shipping via UPS ground. Assembly required.

MC/VISA/AMEX/Check
Money-Back Guarantee • Catalog on Request
800-544-0880 or 407-276-4141

LEVENGER

Tools for Serious Readers
975 S. Congress Ave., Code TNRT9, Delray, FL 33445

how to do that. But the promoters could guarantee that if they didn't get their cut for a record, it wouldn't make the airwaves, and thus the charts. Since radio has become progressively stratified over the past two decades into narrow-band formats dictated by program directors and programming consultants, and since experimental, pioneering and even just-left-of-center sounds have largely disappeared, it looks as if the strategy worked.

Dannen's book leaves the reader cliff-hanging: Some of its major characters are awaiting trials whose outcomes will presumably determine the industry's (and the government's) next steps. But the ending doesn't significantly affect *Hit Men's* value, since its prime virtue is that it collects this story in one place; it is based largely on previous research. (Dannen meticulously cites sources in his endnotes.)

Possibly because he sees the record biz as personality-driven, and possibly because the best-selling books about business are usually loaded with insider gossip, Dannen tries to provide a behind-the-scenes flavor. He engages in amateur psychologizing about the label heads' backgrounds and motives, for instance, and he has annoying and unprofessional stylistic tics, like referring to protagonists by their first names. Dannen also has a somewhat unsettling tendency to reduce corporate struggles to personality conflicts. Then too, he doesn't always get his details right, which isn't reassuring: He woefully underestimates the number of annual releases, for example. But despite its faults, *Hit Men* is a highly readable perspective on an industry that still likes to pretend it's not one. □

EXCHANGE.

(Continued From Page 222)

that the killings occurred "sometime between 5 and 5:30 A.M." But Nations and I did not leave the square until 6:15. Even if we had missed seeing the fleeing survivors, it is scarcely possible that no one else in the small crowd, which remained remarkably relaxed, would have seen them.

Chan and Unger insist that "quite terrible events" occurred in the square during the student evacuation. As a longstanding and outspoken critic of the Chinese authorities' appalling human rights record, I find it invidious to have to record otherwise. A massacre certainly occurred elsewhere in Beijing that night. But Nations and I were in the square. Chan and Unger were not.

Robin Munro

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.

ANNOUNCEMENT

ATTENTION LONGTIME NATION READERS. The magazine is interested in obtaining issues of *The Nation* from the period 1920-60. Please contact Edward Miliband at (212) 242-8400.

APARTMENTS DESIRED

RESEARCH ASSISTANT for *Nation* columnist seeks affordable accommodation, sublet, house-sit. Arrangement and location flexible, but must be under \$300. Call Rich at (212) 242-8400.

UNDERPAID, quiet and responsible interns seek low-rent apartment share, sublet or house-sitting arrangements anywhere in New York City starting right away. Call Peter Rothberg at *The Nation*, (212) 242-8400.

WRITER/EDITOR (FEMALE), terrifically responsible, neat, quiet, wants housesitting job in NYC, October-March. Water plants, forward mail, feed pet (feline only). References. (203) 435-0153.

BED & BREAKFAST

LOS ANGELES near Hollywood. Garden setting. Close to tennis, golf. Residential neighborhood. Reasonable. (213) 664-4425.

NEW ORLEANS, near exciting French Quarter. Bus line. Convenient. Friendly. Reasonable. Clean. (504) 827-1277.

CAMBRIDGE NEAR HARVARD. Homey, Victorian. Friendly scholarly ambience. Safe, quiet, convenient, residential neighborhood. Reasonable. (617) 491-1306.

BOOKS

ANARCHIST COOKBOOK available again! \$22, postpaid. Complete edition. Barricade Books, Box 1401-R, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

THE CREDIT-MONEY BLUE BOOK explains government interest-free credit. For more information and a free copy of: *Who Owns The Federal Reserve?*, write: Monetary Science, Box 86-NA, Wickliffe, OH 44092.

HATE VERMONT? Kill time at Lilac Hedge Bookshop with old and loved books. Across from Inn, Norwich, Vermont.

SPECIAL BOOK DISCOUNT while supply lasts

FATE OF THE FOREST: DEVELOPERS, DESTROYERS AND DEFENDERS OF THE AMAZON, by Susanna Hecht and Alexander Cockburn. Retail: \$24.95. Available to *Nation* subscribers for \$20, and to Nation Associates for \$16.

TRAVELS WITH ALICE, by Calvin Trillin. Retail: \$18.95. *Nation* subscribers: \$14; Nation Associates: \$12.50.

Please add \$2/book for shipping and handling. New York State residents add sales tax.

Send orders to: The Nation Associates, Book Offer, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

MYSTERY ADDICTS! Free catalogue! Good, inexpensive, recycled detective fiction. Grave Matters, Box 32192-NA, Cincinnati, OH 45232.

USED BOOKS WANTED: We buy large personal book collections. Will travel Maine to New Jersey. Dan: (518) 733-6856. Collect OK.

BOOKS

Bargain Books

Publishers' overstocks, remainders, imports—over 4,000 titles at up to 80% savings in our **FREE CATALOG!** Biography, History, Art, Nature, Gardening, Cooking, Fiction—something for everyone, including about 800 new titles monthly. Write: **Hamilton Box 15-702, Falls Village CT 06031**

BOOK SEARCH SERVICES

Wm CAXTON BOOK SEARCH, Box 709, Sister Bay, WI 54234. Send phone/address with wants. (414) 854-2955.

AWAITING YOUR BOOK WANTS. Lorraine Zimmerman, Bookseller at Large. P.O. Box 5854, Berkeley, CA 94705. Locally: (415) 601-1868; nationally: (800) 728-2073.

CASSETTES

THE SUPREME COURT AND DAILY LIFE WHO WILL THE COURT PROTECT IN THE 1990S?

The Nation Institute presents its historic conference of October 21, 1989, and examines the changing relationship of the Supreme Court to civil rights and personal liberties in light of recent Court decisions.

Reproductive and sexual freedom, race and gender discrimination, criminal defense rights, and a broad historical examination of the Supreme Court are some of the topics covered.

Speakers include DENISE CARTY-BENNIA, HAYWOOD BURNS, RHONDA COPELON, ARTHUR KINOY, WILLIAM KUNSTLER, TOM STODDARD, and others.

This 4-part radio series, produced in cooperation with The New School, the New York Council for the Humanities, and WBAL-FM, is available on 2 cassettes for \$25 from The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

EDWARD SAID/MERON BENVENISTI. *Two Views of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.* Tapes of this *Nation*/New School event are now available. Each 2-tape set is \$20. Send check or money order payable to The Nation Institute to: "Two Views," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

COUNSELING

PERSONAL PROBLEMS? Caring, mature, experienced clinical psychotherapist will help resolve them. Short-term treatment where possible. Sliding scale. New York City. (212) 466-6775; Nassau (516) 484-1249.

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 20+ years experience, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity. (212) 582-5508.

MINORITY MALE PSYCHOTHERAPIST (MSW), Professor at NYU—experienced, sensitive, liberal, adjustable fees, midtown Manhattan (Kips Bay). (212) 685-4918.

EDUCATION



Want to brush up on a foreign language?

With AUDIO-FORUM's intermediate and advanced materials, it's easy to maintain and sharpen your foreign-language skills. We offer foreign-language mystery dramas, music, games, dialogues recorded in Paris and more. Call 1-800-243-1234 for FREE 32-p. catalog, or write: **AUDIO-FORUM®** Dept. 655, Guilford, CT 06437

EDUCATION

INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL
COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Fight the Effects of Apartheid

Teach Children in
ANGOLA

Group program begins Fall 1990 & includes intensive technical, language and documentation training before travel; U.S. presentations upon return.

Other programs to Namibia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Brazil, USSR & USA.

For free brochure and application:

IICD
P.O. Box 103-B,
Williamstown, MA 01267.
(413) 458-9828.

An adventure of
mind and heart...

PENDLE HILL, a Quaker Center for Study and Contemplation, offers resident terms, short stays, weekend conferences. Private rooms, home cooking, 23 wooded acres. All creeds are welcome. Write Box 52.

Pendle Hill
Wallingford, PA 19086
(215) 566-4507

UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY
TO LEARN RUSSIAN
IN KALININ, USSR.

The Kalinin Polytechnical Institute has a world-renowned reputation for successfully teaching the Russian language. Four study plans range from \$3,800 for 6 weeks to \$13,800 for 10 months, including airfare, lodging in a hotel, meals, health care and many exciting excursions to other cities. Credits and diploma honored in USA. For information contact: George Sossenkeno, Inc., 4599 Mt. Paran Parkway NW, Atlanta, GA 30327. Telephone or FAX: (404) 233-4628.

EVENTS

Palestinian - Israeli Peace:
A U.S. Agenda for the 90's

Palestine Solidarity Committee's
3rd National Convention

Sept. 14-16
Day's Inn Hotel, New York City

PSC, 11 John St., #806, NYC 10038
(212) 227-1435

EVENTS

THE SOVIET LEFT: DEVELOPMENT & PROSPECTS

Speaker: BORIS KAGARLITSKY, a founder of the New Socialist Party and Moscow City Councilman.

Thursday, September 6, 6:30 pm

Stuyvesant High School Auditorium
15th Street, between 1st & 2nd Avenues, New York City
Admission: \$3

Sponsored by Solidarity

For information, call: (212) 979-2484

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST Puzzles! Book 5 of these British-style crosswords, \$5.50 postpaid. Write E.S. Lewis, 32 Pembroke Avenue, Acushnet MA 02743.

INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITY

PROGRESSIVE INVESTOR(S) SOUGHT

Progressive investor(s) urgently sought by 250 employees in a nationwide company who are attempting to establish an Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP). A collateralized and distinctly remunerative investment option is available to a prospective outside investor in a \$600 million anti-trust action about to go to trial. The firm's legal position in the suit has received favorable assessments from completely independent Wall Street analysts. Reports available. We are trying not only to save our jobs, secure our futures, but to do so in a unique way. For details contact Joan Johnson, Phone: (203) 787-3537, FAX: (203) 789-0263; or Janet Saglio, Industrial Cooperative Association, Somerville, MA, Phone: (617) 629-2700, FAX: (617) 776-0235.

MERCHANDISE

NATION CASES AND BINDERS

Organize and protect your back issues of *The Nation*. Both cases and binders are covered in an attractive dark red leatherette with a gold *Nation* logo. 1 case or binder holds 6 months (1 volume).

Cases \$7.95, 3 for \$21.95, 6 for \$39.95.

Binders \$9.95, 3 for \$27.95, 6 for \$52.95.

Add \$1 per unit for postage/handling.

Send order to: The Nation, Jesse Jones Industries, Dept N
499 E. Erie Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19134

Major credit cards accepted for orders over \$15

To charge call 1-(800) 972-5858

Allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery.

Foreign orders add \$2.50/unit. Payment in U.S. currency.
Pa. residents add 6% sales tax.

GOVERNMENT SEIZED vehicles from \$100. Fords. Mercedes. Corvettes. Chevys. Surplus. Your area. (1) 805-687-6000, Ext. S-3596.

COURT REPORTING MACHINE, mint condition. Call Vivette at: (212) 242-8400 or (718) 739-7395.

STOP SNORING! New high-tech device cures snoring. Satisfaction guaranteed. Only \$39. (800) 869-6837.

MISCELLANEOUS

ATTENTION: CHICAGO AREA *NATION* SUPPORTERS. Friends at Guild Books are busy organizing a 125th Birthday Party for *The Nation*. They need help. If you can lend a hand call Lew or Nancy at (312) 525-3667.

MISCELLANEOUS

MIND CONTROL. Journalist would like to hear from anyone who may have been an involuntary human subject in CIA behavior control experiments since 1976. Girard, 1810 Rittenhouse Square, Apt. 1705, Philadelphia, PA 19103.

IN-HOUSE GRAPHICS/BERKELEY. Complete publication services: editing, design, production and printing at reasonable rates. (415) 843-7660. 10% off to *Nation* readers.

INVENTIONS, IDEAS, NEW PRODUCTS! Presentation to industry and exhibition at national innovation exposition. Call (800) 288-IDEA.

ORGANIZATIONS

WOULD YOU LIKE to be more closely involved with *The Nation*? Join The Nation Associates and get behind the scenes at America's oldest weekly journal of opinion. Call Sandra Zickefoose (212) 242-8400.

BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY. Information: N, 1664 Pleasant View Road, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

PERSONALS

PERSONALS ADVERTISERS

A Nation Box number and weekly forwarding service is available for a one-time \$10 charge added to the cost of your classified ad.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER

links compatible singles concerned about peace, justice, environment. Nationwide. All ages. Since 1984. Free sample: Box 555-A, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE®. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. 1-800-233-CMLS. Box 31, Pelham, NY 10803.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured singles acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write: SBL, Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039, or call: (215) 358-5049.

LOVE LETTERS are cheaper and more durable than flowers. They also work better. 10/\$9.95 or 25/\$19.95 for original, proven heart clenchers. Cyrano-N, Box 16, New Milford, NJ 07646.

5' 6", SLIM, one of your normally unique, bright, articulate, passionate, classical music and bird loving, etc. women in St. Louis. Are you 48 to 62 and curious? Nation Box 643.

WRITER/AUTHOR/TEACHER, DWM, 51, seeks loving, creative, politically progressive woman, 35-50. NYC area. Nation Box 644.

HORIZON PUSHING. SWF, 37, just back from 18 months in South America, changed by living there, inspired by colleagues' struggles despite dirty war. This year: writing project, snagging degree, moving somewhere. Meeting someone? Maybe that wild-heart M, smart, fun, principled, imagining/making better world. Box 1902, Cambridge, MA 02238.

HANDSOME, EARTHY, PROFESSIONAL man, ecologically minded, 41, with terrific sense of humor and compassion, seeks attractive, sensitive woman, 25-35, for fun and romance. Please send note and photo. Nation Box 645.

INTELLIGENT AND LONELY PRISONER, age 25, political science major. Seeks correspondence with intelligent and independent woman. Write: Mr. Chris Millner #858446, Great Meadow Corr. Facility, Box 51, Cornstock, NY 12821-0051.

CLASSIFIED.

PERSONALS

FLORIDA GULF COAST COMMUNITY. Have old house to share with older companionable person. Write: Nation Box 646.

ALTERNATIVE-MINDED, Central Virginia SWM, late 20s, newspaper editor, seeks SF to share dinner, movies and spontaneity. Nation Box 647.

PROGRESSIVE, HANDSOME, NY Italian, 29, writer prisoner. Seeks friendship, possible romance. Anthony Caracciolo, 1321 N.W. 13th Street, Miami, FL 33125.

SM, 58, ALMOST LONELY, slightly eccentric, very curious, totally left. Looking for nonsmoking partner—woman. Box 1215, Tanager, CA 90290.

BIWJM, WARM, SINCERE, healthy, age 56, seeks GM for friendship, leading to monogamous, sensitive, caring relationship, perhaps where we can work and play together. Be bright, sincere, stable, healthy and over 28. Letter and phone to: Nation Box 649.

SERENE, GENTLE, CONFIDENT SPM, 40, blue eyes, brown hair, 5'6", 140 lbs., handsome, physically taut and intellectually agile, passionate in belief America should keep her promise of "liberty and justice for all," seeks dream woman who is bright, relaxed, courteous, leaves her competitive spirit at work and brings her nurturing spirit home, is pretty, slender, physically fit, age 22-35. Nation Box 650.

THE GLASS BEAD GAME, The Magic Mountain, The Magus, Children of Paradise, The Magician, Tootsie, history, storytelling, creativity, soft, independent, nondomineering, sensitive, serious with humor, walking, bicycling, beaches, sensual, very good-looking, left, under 40, searching, sanctity, relationship: note/photo to the man of this ad. Nation Box 651.

SWM, 40, desires uninhibited correspondence (letters, photos, tapes) from a woman. Use a pseudonym. Be wild! Rod Strong, P.O. Box 2773, Chapel Hill, NC 27515.

ATTRACTIVE WIDOW seeks fine widower, over 55, for beautiful life. Box 279, Menlo Park, CA 94025.

ATTRACTIVE F TEACHER, 40, with children, looking for partner. Seeks M, 30s-40s, outgoing, physically fit, accepting, principled. Boston area. Letter appreciated. Nation Box 653.

PERSONALS

GLAMOROUS, BRAINY BRUNETTE, 42, loves travel, intellectual pursuits and entertaining, seeks male companion with off-beat sense of humor to brighten her days and warm her nights. Nation Box 652.

ATTRACTIVE REDHEAD, 5'6" professional. In my 60s, feel like 40s: active, working, enjoy life, love, laughter, opera, symphony. Seeking that special SWM with whom to share and discover the best. Nation Box 654.

WWM, 82, with marbles and body parts intact, seeks bookish lady, 63+, who likes McNeil-Lehrer, Gilbert & Sullivan, Boston-Providence area. Photo and biography. Nation Box 655.

If responding to a Nation Box number send replies to: Nation Box _____, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

COMMUNITY JOBS, socially responsible jobs and internships. Subscribe to the only nationwide newspaper listing, covering lobbying, organizing, environment, disarmament and more. \$20/6 issues. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box NAT, 1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #600, Washington, DC 20009.

WORK IN NICARAGUA

APSNICA is seeking volunteers in all fields, skilled and unskilled to work in Nicaragua. Architects, building tradespeople, computer personnel, engineers, mechanics, medical personnel, English teachers, planners and others are encouraged to contact us. Call: 213-455-1340; write: APSNICA P.O. Box 1151, Topanga, CA 90290.

GOVERNMENT JOBS \$16,412-\$59,932/year. Now hiring. Your area. Call (1) 805-687-6000, Ext. R-3596 for listings.

DIRECTOR. 12,000 member statewide peace and justice group. 12 chapters, 4 staff. Experience fundraising, development for nonprofits. \$22,500-\$25,000. Begin early fall. Apply immediately to NJ SANE/FREEZE, 89 Walnut St., Montclair, NJ 07042. EOE.

TEACH ENGLISH to Spanish speakers. Nonprofit school needs volunteers this fall. Good atmosphere, midtown location. Centro de Educacion de Trabajadores. (212) 765-4634.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

ORGANIZING DIRECTOR

Grass-roots experience organizing low-income groups, developing leadership. Supervisory/program development experience, bilingual (Spanish/English) helpful. Join the HCAC team! \$18-20,000. Excellent benefits. Résumés by October 15, 1990 to: Executive Director, HCAC, 56 Vernon St., Northampton, MA 01060.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR sought for National Lawyers Guild, a nationwide organization of lawyers, law students and legal workers. Responsible for administration, staff supervision, fundraising and political leadership. Experience in nonprofit management, fundraising and progressive politics desired. Salary: \$35-\$38,000 DOE, benefits. Résumé, 3 references by September 7, 1990 to: Search Committee, National Lawyers Guild, 55 Sixth Avenue, New York, NY 10013. Women, people of color, disabled, gay men and lesbians encouraged to apply.

POSITIONS DESIRED

INTELLIGENT, ARTICULATE NATION INTERNS skilled in research, fact-checking, editing and writing looking for meaningful employment in New York, Boston, Washington and elsewhere. Available starting immediately. Call Peter Meyer at (212) 242-8400.

NATION RESEARCH INTERN seeks full-time employment in New York or Washington, starting in September. Has staff experience in many phases of magazine journalism and a history of activism on the left in Britain and the United States. Call Eddie Harcourt at (212) 242-8400.

NATION INTERN seeks meaningful employment in feminist/progressive organization in New York, Washington or Boston area. Skilled in research, writing, television production, French. Call April James at (212) 242-8400.

PUBLICATIONS

THE PEOPLE. Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months/\$1. 1 year/\$4. The People (N), PO Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

LEFT BUSINESS OBSERVER — a monthly newsletter on economics and politics worldwide. "A salutary antidote to the economic mush in mainstream periodicals." — Alexander Cockburn. One year \$18. Left Business Observer (Dept. N), 250 West 85th Street, New York, NY 10024.

NICARAGUA: La lucha continúa...
Barricada Internacional,
biweekly news from the FSLN.
Now bilingual. Sample free!
\$35/year; \$18/6 mo.
Barricada USA-N, PO Box
410150 SF, CA 94141



COOL TRAVELER NEWSLETTER—Box 11975, Philadelphia, PA 19145. Sample: \$3; \$10/year. A publication about PLACE.

WORLD SOCIALISM . . . no wages, no profits, no buying and selling; free access, sustainable abundance. Want it? You can have it now. Send for introductory cassette tape and catalogue: \$1. World Socialist Party (NJ), Box 405, Boston, MA 02272.

TECHNOCRACY—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for \$3 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

IS GOVERNMENT SPYING ON YOU? Do it yourself kit: \$7.95. Private Eyes, 79 South Park, Bangor, ME 04401.

INFORMATION ON SOURCES OF SEXUAL LITERATURE and merchandise. \$5. Box 1443, Mableton, GA 30059.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates STANDARD \$1.50/word, 15-word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words each, abbreviations and zip codes as one. CLASSIFIED DISPLAY 1-inch minimum; camera-ready \$60/column inch; not camera-ready \$60/column inch plus a one-time setting charge of \$15/inch. FREQUENCY DISCOUNTS For consecutive runs only; 4 ads for the price of 3; 10 for the price of 7; 25 for the price of 15. PERSONALS For individuals 2 ads for the price of 1, 4 for the price of 2, etc.; no other discounts apply; Nation box number/weekly forwarding service one-time charge of \$10; for commercial advertisers standard rates apply.

Deadline Wednesday, 5 PM, 26 days prior to Monday issue date.

To THE NATION
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week(s), plus _____ week(s) free.

Be sure to include payment for Nation box number/forwarding service or classified display setting charge, if applicable.

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

Payment in U.S. currency must accompany order.

REAL ESTATE

GOVERNMENT HOMES from \$1 (U repair). Delinquent tax property. Repossessions. Your area (1) 805-687-6000 Ext. GH-3596 for current repo list.

INTELLIGENT SELL/BUY/RELOCATION assistance, East (San Francisco) Bay area. Norma. ERLnv. (415) 526-3968.

ONE-ACRE ORGANIC FARMETTE; 4-bedroom house; Riverhead; summer or year-round. \$150,000. (516) 727-6158.

Ph.D. EXPERIENCED CONSCIENTIOUS AGENT. Sell/buy Los Angeles area. Naomi. (213) 854-1144 or 656-8033.

RELIGION

JESUS FICTIONAL INCONVERTIBLE PROOF, CHALLENGE. Scholarly booklet—\$5, Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064 (Details: SASE).

SERVICES

EXPERT HOUSEPAINTER—and socially conscious, too. Prompt, neat, reasonable rates. Airless sprayer for large spaces. 10 years experience. References. Free estimate. Call and leave message: (718) 789-1944.

TRAVEL

HITCH A RIDE TO EUROPE ANYTIME on a commercial jet for \$160 from the east coast, \$269 from the west coast, or \$229 from anywhere else. Call AIRHITCH®, (212) 864-2000.

Third World Reality Tours

Learn the issues firsthand. Meet with labor, religious, peace, and environmental organizers, gov. officials and scholars. Upcoming tours to Haiti & Dominican Republic, Appalachia, Brazil, Southern Africa & Central America. Contact:

Global 2141 Mission St., #202
Exchange San Francisco CA 94110

T-SHIRTS



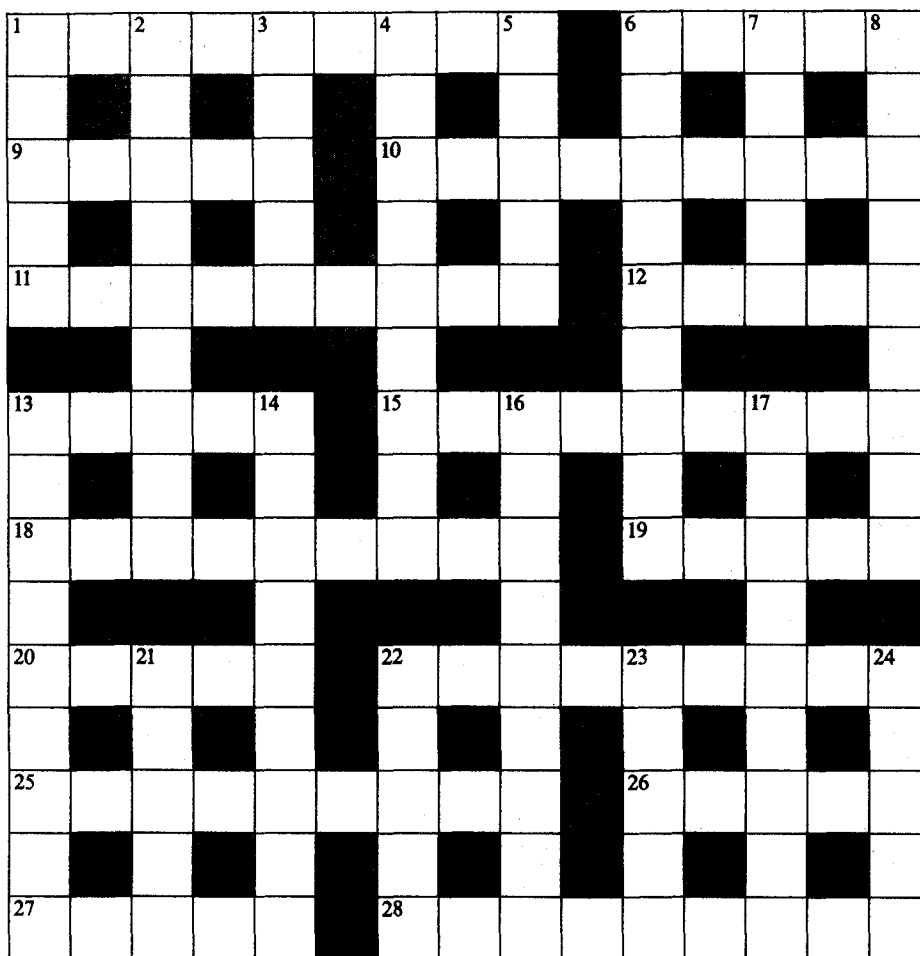
FAN THE FLAMES! NEW STREET PAINTINGS BY GUERRILLA ARTIST "LF."
Silkscreened reproductions of latest paintings on abortion rights, the homeless, U.S. intervention in Latin America, censorship, nuclear power, and more. White 100% cotton T-shirts, M, L, and XL. \$18.00 each includes delivery. Write for free color brochure: STREET SHIRTS, 139 Spring Street, New York, N.Y. 10012; or call (212) 966-6942.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2301

C	A	N	V	A	S	B	A	C	K	D	U	C	K
A	I	G	Y	L	P	N	N						
S	E	A	P	O	R	T	I	S	R	A	E	L	I
T	G	O	H	F	E	A	G						
D	A	N	D	R	U	F	F	P	A	T	C	H	
A	R	N	A	E	T								
S	T	A	I	R	D	U	E	R	A	N	C	H	
P	O	E	E	E	O								
E	X	E	C	U	T	R	I	X	D	R	A	C	O
R	D	N	T	P	D								
S	P	E	E	D	D	W	E	L	L	E	R	S	
I	N	S	I	R	O	I	S						
O	U	T	R	U	N	S	O	U	T	L	O	O	K
N	A	M	C	U	U	R	I						
S	E	L	F	P	O	S	S	E	S	S	I	O	N

Crossword Puzzle No. 2302

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 and 6 Suggests Kermit's girl-friend, wearing a bonnet, is available if you make such a bad deal. (3,1,3,2,1,4)
 9 What's the point with bringing powder back with so much fanfare? (5)
 10 What sounds beat might be a competitor of this type of sweet stuff with an outbreak of acne. (5,4)
 11 Describing the worst problems might suggest the most misbehaving. (9)
 12 A certain amount of water in Africa, as you'll see in many a Sahara (and in N.Y. as an afterthought). (5)
 13 The Highland type really doesn't mean tossing the caber. (5)
 15 His street scene, being proper, shows the author has city transportation on foreign waters, which goes against the grain. (A tree, to go wrong, has common diamonds.)(5,4)
 18 For directions, I toss G.N.P.s! (9)
 19 There's nothing in a little bit of liquid to decline! (5)
 20 One of those the player might tickle is not in the audience! (5)
 22 Need this "C" changed? It's bursting open! (9)
 25 Changed to be one part of a bar sign? (4,2,3)
 26 Only a little bit of the paper is concerned with the fight. (5)

- 27 and 28 They may be passed in only a few states showing the absence of life with certain writings. (5,9)

DOWN

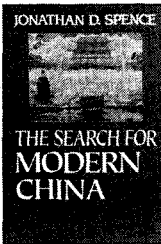
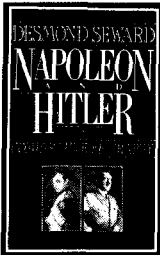
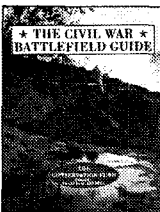
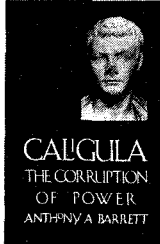
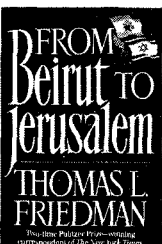
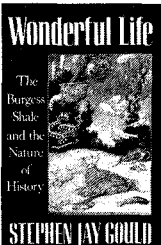
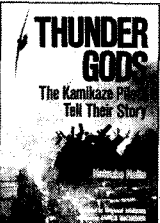
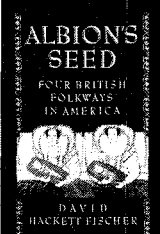
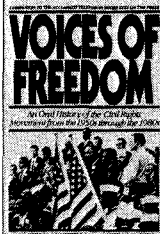
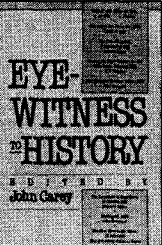
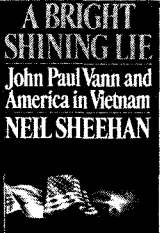
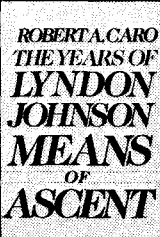
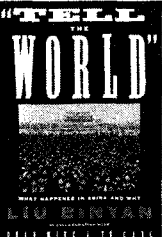
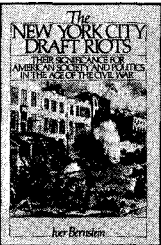
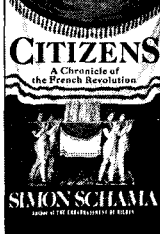
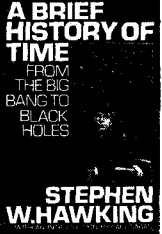
- 1 and 13 What a basketball team might do sleeping! (Some consider it a luxury.) (9,2,3)
 2 Make a strong complaint, being in debt and showing age! (9)
 3 Insignificant type of four or point with it. (5)
 4 They may show a good deal of turnover when you've been busy in the kitchen, perhaps. (3,6)
 5 Watch this painting? The other way around! (5)
 6 A priest has some distance, evidently—but it's only a plant. (6,3)
 7 What's it taken from? From a hamlet in Nebraska. (5)
 8 One hears that I show conciliation but it may be only the shadow. (3,6)
 13 See 1 down
 14 Fly-by-night that never settled down? (You might remember a little craft!) (5,4)
 16 The ship's name is sort of crooked! (9)
 17 Is nothing like what England went some years back, describing a system for strengthening the muscles! (9)
 21 A rope twirled on the stage at times? (5)
 22 Dinner companions don't have to be stuffed, of course! (5)
 23 Possibly uses "I" for the common name of the girl? (5)
 24 Records made of paste? (5)

SEE LAST WEEK'S
SOLUTION AT LEFT

TAKE ANY 3 FOR \$1 EACH

Plus a 4th at the low Members' Price.

NO RISK, NO COMMITMENT.

- | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|---|---|
| 
4887. \$29.95/\$22.50 | 
1891. \$19.95/\$14.95 | 
2386. \$27.50/\$21.50 | 
4994. \$29.95/\$22.95 | 
4564. \$27.50/\$21.50 | 
1925. \$22.95/\$17.50 |
| 
2709. \$19.95/\$16.95 | 
3434. \$29.95/\$23.50 | 
2220. \$18.95/\$16.50 | 
2857. \$39.95/\$22.95 | 
4440. \$25.95/\$19.95 | 
6007. \$24.95/\$17.95 |
| 
2816. \$24.95/\$18.95 | 
1495. \$24.95/\$18.50 | 
5470. \$22.95/\$18.95 | 
9282. \$22.50/\$17.50 | 
5058. \$24.95/\$21.95 | 
4358. \$18.95/\$14.50 |
| 
2766. \$29.95/\$21.95 | 
1859. \$15/\$10.50 | 
1792. \$22.95/\$18.50 | 
1701. \$24.95/\$18.95 | 
1396. \$29.95/\$21.95 | 
3087. \$18.95/\$16.95 |

(First price is publisher's list. **Boldface** is Members' Price.)



History Book Club®
Camp Hill, PA 17012-8805

Please enroll me in History Book Club according to the no-risk, no commitment terms outlined in the accompanying ad. Send me the four books whose numbers I have listed below. Bill me \$1 each for the 3 choices on the left, and the fourth at the low Members' Price, plus shipping and handling.

H128-9-2

0-13

Name _____ (Please print clearly.)

Address _____ Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

All orders subject to approval. Prices generally higher in Canada.
© 1990 History Book Club, Inc.

Save on the best recent history titles.

No matter what area of history you enjoy reading about most, you'll find that History Book Club offers some of the finest selections being published today. And no book club we know offers greater savings—as much as 30% off publishers' list prices.

You can save even more by taking advantage of our Introductory Offer. Select any three books on this page for \$1 each when you take a fourth book at the low Members' Price, plus shipping and handling. Thereafter, you're not obligated to order any more books. You may cancel membership at any time by notifying History Book Club. We may cancel your membership if you elect not to buy at least one book in any six-month period.

How the Club works. You'll be able to choose from 150 to 200 books featured each month. History Book Club always offers its members well-made, long-lasting editions.

You'll receive our *Review* and a dated Reply Form 14 times a year (about every 4 weeks), plus up to 4 more offers of special selections. If you want the "Editors' Choice," do nothing—the book will come automatically. If you want another book, or no books at all, return the Reply Form by the date specified. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

Your HBC guarantee: If you receive an unwanted "Editors' Choice" because you had less than 10 days to decide, simply return it and pay nothing.